



1992 Festival of American Folklife

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

FOR CARMEN



PHOTO BY DICK HOFMEISTER

*Smithsonian Under Secretary Carmen Turner
greeted Vice President Dan Quayle at the
1991 Festival of American Folklife.
At home in official and unofficial roles,
Carmen enjoyed and supported the Festival.
She liked to visit with her family, and last year, as
in previous years, she brought her granddaughters.
Carmen's support continues to sustain us.*

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

1992 Festival of American Folklife

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Front cover photo: Each December in many New Mexico communities, worshipers celebrate the Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe. In Tortugas, participants gather at the tiny *capilla* where the Virgin's image is kept. *Photo by Russell Bamert*

Back cover photo: Friends and kin of a Ndjuka Maroon woman help prepare her garden for planting rice near Diitabiki, Suriname. The garden is in a section of Amazonian rainforest that has been cleared by burning.
Photo by Diana Baird N'Diaye

Cultural Diversity and Dialogue: The Role of Museums

Robert McC. Adams

Secretary, Smithsonian Institution

An important challenge before museums today is to find ways to address themselves to the increasing diversity, and at the same time the growing interdependence and vulnerability, of social life everywhere. Museums need to be publicly recognized as important institutional means by which groups in our very pluralistic society can define themselves and find places within the changing dynamics of contemporary life.

All museum visitors benefit from carefully researched and innovatively presented exhibitions in which individual social groups define and represent themselves through dialogue with scholars, curators and the public. Broad educational goals are served by directing public attention to constituent groups of this culturally diverse society and to the complex variety of ways they combine to create social life. Successful exhibitions of this sort should enable us to review, revise and broaden public discourse.

The Festival of American Folklife has always been guided by this set of concerns and, indeed, has pioneered the type of dialogue now recognized as basic not only to the health of our museums but also to the health of our society as a whole. And it is in this perspective that I find the constellation of groups assembled at this Festival quite remarkable.

The Columbus Quincentenary we mark this year gives us pause to reflect on the forces that over the past 500 years have shaped today's social

life in the Americas. The programs on New Mexico, Maroons in the Americas and the Changing Soundscape in Indian Country illustrate important historical and ongoing processes through which communities establish cultural identities in complex and dynamic social circumstances.

The Spanish Conquest established the Western Hemisphere's European presence and its most widely spoken language. While the original conquerors' culture did not value the Native cultures it encountered, over the centuries segments of Hispanic and Native American and later English-speaking and other populations have, of necessity, engaged one another in ways that have given rise to today's rich array of cultural identities. New Mexico's distinctive cultural landscape has taken shape in this way, and today is composed of some peoples who sustain cultural identities through centuries-old combinations of Indian and European forms of thought and action, and of others whose basis of identity lies in reaffirming the wisdom and relevance of ancestral ways. But in all New Mexicans, as in people everywhere, cultural identity reflects the changes that continue to be wrought from the varieties of their social encounters.

Nowhere is the connection between creativity and self-definition more clear than in the cultural identities of contemporary Maroon peoples, whose ancestors escaped plantation slavery in the Americas and founded independent societies.

Faced with the task of constructing and defending their positions, Maroons creatively defined themselves from a variety of sources. While their political institutions, expressive arts, religions and other social forms were predominantly African in origin, they drew from a broad range of African cultures, and from European and Native American cultures as well. Much of the aesthetic component of Maroon cultures — their vibrant traditions of verbal and visual arts — encourages the cohesiveness of their society and voices themes that embody common experience and interest.

“The Changing Soundscape in Indian Country,” produced jointly with the National Museum of the American Indian, explores ways that Indian musicians and their communities have creatively adapted elements from the musical traditions brought to this continent from Europe, Africa and elsewhere. Although many of the forms of this Indian music are non-Indian in origin, the themes and performance styles clearly address Indian experience and aesthetic expectations. In their creative hands, external musical influences become part of the self-definition of Indian identity and trenchant commentary of what has been happening in “Indian Country” over the past 500 years.

This year also marks the 200th anniversary of the White House, it too a legacy of our complex past. The White House is not a king’s palace but rather “the people’s house,” at once national

symbol, executive office and conference center, ceremonial setting, museum, tourist attraction and family residence. At the Festival we recognize the culture of White House workers, who have supported this broad array of functions over a span of history shaped by remarkable events, people and social change. White House workers have been part of this history, and with their labor and dedication have made the White House work. We honor White House workers and their venerable workplace with a living exhibition that presents some of the skills, experiences and values through which they give shape to their occupational identities and call our attention to an important human component of the 200 year institutional history.

Pausing to mark these anniversaries, museums should consider self-representations of culture such as these for what they tell their audiences about our changing social life, for what they can teach us about creative adaptation and self-definition, and especially for what they contribute to the role of museums as forums for cultural dialogues. If museums, like the Festival, can provide models for public discourse, raise cultural issues to national and international consciousness, and enable cross-cultural communication and understanding, if not respect, they will then have helped in guiding all of us forward to the next century.

The Quincentenary: Understanding America's Cultural Heritage

Manuel Lujan, Jr.

Secretary of the Interior

This year is a special one throughout the Americas and indeed, throughout the world. The Columbus Quincentenary gives us an opportunity to examine our history and the ways the world has changed over the past 500 years. These changes have been momentous and have profoundly effected the natural environment, animal and plant species, the movements of populations, and the development of ideas and forms of social organization and cultural expression.

The U.S. Department of the Interior and the Smithsonian Institution think it is important that Americans understand their historical and cultural heritage. This heritage is complex, involving centuries of creativity, conflict, cooperation and cultural interchange across continents. Understanding our heritage is an important act of cultural citizenship, not only for Americans, but for people the world over. The Department of the Interior, through its many bureaus such as the National Park Service, and the Smithsonian, through its various museums and programs, have planned scores of activities to encourage public education so that in understanding our past we might more wisely chart our future.

The Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife, co-sponsored by the National Park Service, provides a dramatic venue for exploring our living cultural heritage. Here on the Nation's front lawn, millions of Americans can participate in cultural traditions that reach back centuries and

yet still provide meaning to contemporary communities and individuals. Visitors can talk to folks from my state, New Mexico, and discover how in the southwestern U.S., Native Americans, early Hispanic settlers and latter immigrants created a robust regional culture. Visitors can meet and speak with African-American Maroons who resisted plantation slavery and maintained free, self-reliant communities for hundreds of years. One can hear how contemporary Native American musicians from across the continent have adapted nontraditional instruments and styles in creating and re-creating their musical culture. And here at the Festival, you can also learn about the culture of the workers at the White House who serve, maintain and protect that historic landmark, instrument and symbol of government. You can, in short, meet with, speak to and be engaged by exemplary fellow Americans who forge the links between our cultural history and our cultural future.

I would also encourage you to go beyond the Mall, to the places, communities and national sites of these people and their forebearers. See the White House, visit historic Santa Fe, Chaco Culture National Historic Park and Fort Union National Monument in New Mexico, learn about African-American Seminoles, and experience the richness and variety of American Indian traditions through the numerous tribal museums and cultural centers across this country.

Festival of American Folklife: Not Just a Festival

Richard Kurin

The video begins with elderly and lanky farmers from the U.S. Midwest, plucking their stringed instruments in a way suggesting the strangeness of their music. Next on the screen women from Iowa puff on brass trumpets; the camera angle and sound mix again suggests the exotic quality of their performance. Next come images of monumental Washington seen not so much as landmarks, but as evidence of the presence of visitors from Chiapas, Mexico — the subjects of the video. Deliberately, a story of the 1991 Festival of American Folklife unfolds through the eyes of a video crew that accompanied a delegation of native Mayan and Lacandón people from the southern Mexican province of Chiapas and documented their participation in the Festival.

I was sitting in an auditorium in Tuxtla Gutierrez, the capital of Chiapas. The auditorium was overflowing with hundreds of people — the ten Chiapanecos who had participated in the Festival, their relatives, government officials, scholars and local citizens. It was December, six months after the Festival on the Mall in Washington had featured, among other programs, “Land in Native American Cultures,” which included people from Chiapas. Other staff and I had written our reports and reviewed the press coverage and our own video documentation, and now I was seeing how others had seen the Festival, how members of the participants’ communities had construed and represented their participation to folks back home.

Also exhibited in that auditorium was a journal written by a Mayan storyteller, Xun Gallo, in

his native Tzotzil, published with Spanish translation and illustrations. The journal, entitled *Mis ojos vieron, mi corazón lo sabe* (My eyes saw, my heart knows) was a wonderful, serious, poetic and humorous account of his visit to Washington and participation in the Festival. He had discussed his work with the audience, academic scholars and Smithsonian program curator Olivia Cadaval before the video began. He and others spoke of the importance of the Festival in reaffirming cultural identity and raising consciousness about cultural issues that cross ethnic, national and international boundaries.

This theme was echoed in the video documentary that proceeds from the exoticized family farmers to the Chiapas group, and from them to widening circles of inclusiveness. First the other Indian groups at the 1991 Festival, from Mexico, Peru and Bolivia are included in the Chiapaneco Indian world. Then Alaskan groups, the Hopi and Ecuadorian Shuar are included. The video treatment then embraces the Indonesians — Javanese, Dayak from Kalimantan and people from Sulawesi, also at the Festival last year — and finds they too are Indian of a sort. Then the bluesmen. Yes, they too are Indian. Finally, by video’s end, the formerly strange family farmers reappear and are included — they too are Indian; they too are humans with culture and value.

A few days later, Smithsonian Assistant Secretary James Early, Dr. Cadaval and I were in a small Chiapan pueblo visiting a family. One of the daughters, an excellent weaver, had been inspired by other weavers at the Festival, especially by the economically successful and well-organized Peruvian weavers. She was determined to start a weaving cooperative with other village women.

This experience in Chiapas is a reminder that the Festival does not end on the Mall in Washington when visitors go home and the staff

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packs up the tents. The Festival has always been designed to have an impact beyond its public education function with visitors. The Festival frequently plays a catalytic role for tradition bearers, scholars, officials and others to think about the practice, continuity, viability and creativity of grassroots culture. It extends "back home," certainly in the minds of participants, but often also in the institutions and policies of communities whose members have come to see and be seen.

And the Festival, though ephemeral, leaves documentary trails, images, ideas and experiences, which live beyond the ten days or so on the Mall.

The dissemination of the Festival through time and space is broad, and often outstrips the ability of our staff to keep fully engaged with its numerous developments. Nonetheless, we feel a commitment to those who have worked with us to create the Festival, and in many cases, we continue our cooperative efforts.

This year, results of such collaborations were seen in the U.S. Virgin Islands, whose folklife tra-

ditions were featured at the 1990 Festival. As a direct result of that successful research, organizational and presentational effort, the U.S.V.I. undertook several initiatives to examine the present state and possibilities of local cultural resources. Joining with the newly formed and locally based Friends of Virgin Islands Culture, the Festival was remounted on the island of St. Croix in October, 1991. This first Virgin Islands Folklife Festival reassured residents and especially young people of the power of locally produced cultural representations. Half the population of the territory attended. The Festival became an arena and an idiom for discussing issues of local culture. Also participating in the Festival were Senegalese artists and the Freedom Singers, who had been featured along with the U.S.V.I. on the Mall at the Smithsonian's 1990 Festival. They offered local audiences an important comparative perspective on their own culture. The poignancy of the historical passage from West Africa to the Caribbean to the U.S. mainland was apparent to many, and was underscored when Senegalese story-

teller Bigue N'Dove, joyful in her reunion with Virgin Islanders, spoke as if among family, "I am happy to be here. I walk without my shoes, so I can feel the land upon which my [captured] grandfathers walked."

For many, as in the Virgin Islands, the Festival is no mere show or passing entertainment; no mere canvas for the drawings of folklorists or cultural marketers. It was and has been a means of raising public consciousness about cultural issues and the society's future. The effort to remount the Festival on St. Croix was preceded by a cultural conference, "Go Back and Fetch It," held on St. Thomas. The conference brought together disparate groups of people and interests — government officials, scholars, community spokespeople, tradition bearers, educators, business leaders, members of the tourism industry and others. They examined strategies for conserving Virgin Islands culture and for using it to revitalize education, and promote sustainable economic development and environmental

preservation. In addition to work with the conference, the Smithsonian's Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies is collaborating with the U.S.V.I. Department of Education and the Humanities Council to develop a curriculum unit on local and comparative culture, so that students will have better access to their own traditions, their own history and the means for interpreting and representing them.

Most dramatically, the Festival program on the Mall in Washington furthered debate and discussion within the Virgin Islands about public policies relating to cultural issues. The intellectual engagement of the Smithsonian Center's staff, Festival participants and associated scholars with each other and with government officials and policy makers was a serious, sometimes contentious one — with strong debate and public commentary about how to address salient cultural issues in the Virgin Islands. In March the U.S. Virgin Islands Cultural Heritage Preservation Act was passed by the 19th Legislature and signed by Governor Alexander Farrelly. This law, a direct outgrowth of the Festival, establishes a cultural institute dedicated to the research, documentation, preservation and presentation of local cultures.

Other states and regions of the United States have remounted the Festival — Michigan, Massachusetts, Hawai'i, most recently — and have tried, sometimes quite successfully, to use the projects as catalysts for research and educational



Leona Watson (right) engages elder Miss Etta in an intense recollection of Virgin Islands community history at the Virgin Islands Festival on St. Croix.
Photo by Joan Wolbier



Ector Roebuck of St. Thomas delights local children with anansi stories at the remounting of the Virgin Islands Festival program at Estate Love on St. Croix. *Photo by Joan Wolbier*



An aerial view of 'Aina Moana Recreational Area (Magic Island), a state park jutting out into the Pacific Ocean from downtown Honolulu, shows the site of the 1990 restaging of the Festival of American Folklife Program in Hawai'i.
Photo by Carl Heffner



Christine Won teaches children Korean drumming at "Folklife Hawai'i," a restaging of the 1989 Festival of American Folklife program in Hawai'i. These children were among the 10,000 school students from Hawai'i who participated in special Festival programs organized by local teachers with the assistance of Smithsonian staff. Photo by Ray Tanaka

activities, public service and policy debate. So too have other nations, perhaps most dramatically India, used their Festival experience to mount similar presentations.

Sometimes Festival programs have built institutional relationships and encouraged governmental attention and even policy shifts, as with the former Soviet Union's Ministry of Culture, some of whose collaborative projects with us have continued after the demise of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet music program at the 1988 Festival for example, led to scholarly ties and commitments for joint research on the transformation of Russian, Old Believer, Bukharan Jewish, Ukrainian and Native traditions in the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Despite recent events, this joint research continues. Under Smithsonian auspices, Dr. Ted Levin, an ethnomusicologist from Dartmouth and Dr. Otanazar Matyakubov from Tashkent State Conservatory have been doing fieldwork among Bukharan Jews in Uzbekistan and among those who have emigrated to New York and New Jersey. They have produced scholarly articles and Smithsonian *Folkways* recordings, e.g., *Shashmaqam: Music of Bukharan Jews in Brooklyn* and *Bukhara: Musical Crossroads of Asia*.



Uzbek folklorist Otanazar Matyakubov takes down a song text from Kholmurod Mirzozonov in the Valley of Yagnob, Tajikistan, June 1991 during a Smithsonian-sponsored fieldwork trip. Prof. Matyakubov subsequently did fieldwork in Uzbek communities in New York and New Jersey with American counterpart Prof. Theodore Levin of Dartmouth College. *Photo by Theodore Levin*

Other such teams with roots in the 1988 Festival also continue their research collaboration to understand cultural continuities and transformations among cognate peoples in the context of larger social and economic systems. We trust this research will result in a Festival program in 1994 or 1995.

Discussions also continue at the levels of communities and individuals brought together through the Festival. Peruvian and Bolivian Indian groups who met at the Smithsonian's 1991 Festival have continued to talk with each other about cultural survival and its economic strategies since returning home. Perhaps the most dramatic case of individual contact occurred after the 1986 Festival. Thai Festival included programs on the folklife of Japan and Tennessee. A cooper from Tennessee was intrigued by the techniques of a Japanese craftsman who makes casks for rice wine. Though they could not speak each other's language, they were able to communicate because of a mutual familiarity of the hand skills needed for their respective crafts. Taken with the desire to learn more, the Ten-

nessee cooper traveled to Japan, worked with his counterpart, and brought his new-found knowledge back home — no doubt much to the chagrin of future archaeologists who might have to puzzle over the confluence of bourbon and sake-related craft traditions.

The catalytic role the Festival plays can be seen in the many media products — documentary films, educational videos, audio recordings, books and articles — that result from its research and documentation. The Italian-American stone carvers working at the National Cathedral participated in several Festivals. A documentary film about them by staff folklorist Marjorie Hunt and film maker Paul Wagner won Academy and Emmy Awards in 1985. We are just finishing a film to supplement a monograph on Onggi pottery, a project that grew from Festival research in 1982 for a program on Korea. And we continue to work on others — from one on Salvadorian immigrant life in D.C., growing out of the 1987 Metropolitan Washington program, to one on presentational techniques, filmed at the Festival last year. And — as in the case with the Chiapan-

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THINKING BACK A BIT

Bess Lomax Hawes

Historians will eventually look in wonder, I think, at the far reaching effects of the 1976 Festival of American Folklife. In a way, it did what all festivals do — interrupting the passing of ordinary time, providing landmarks for later recollection and brief respites from the day-to-day during which energies and ideas for the future can be sorted out. But this Festival was so big, and it involved so many people, that its sheer size affected in major ways the steady progression of work that had already been going on for decades in support of the arts and culture of all the world's people. After all, another thing festivals traditionally do is to bring people together and this one brought together for a period of serious work a serious group of people. Almost every person I know who is active today in the area of public folklore participated at least in some small fashion in the 1976 Festival.

By now, it is impossible to determine just what ideas, whose energies, which programs grew out of that extraordinary summer, but when I left in 1977 to develop the Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts, I know I approached my new job with an unpurchasable wealth of experience. Fifteen years later, with a lot of bureaucratic victories behind us — the establishment of state folk cultural programs in almost every state and territory, the initiation of the National Heritage Fellowships honoring individual traditional artists, and the funding of nation-spanning folk arts tours and radio series, feature films, inner city multicultural festivals, artists conferences and hundreds of other ingenious ways to further the varied arts of the varied American people — the Folk Arts Program has an honorable history and a future of enormous potential. In its continual attempts to be consistent, clear, fair-minded, focussed and forward-moving, the Program has always depended heavily upon the experiences of the many artists in this business; and the summer of 1976 brought together an unprecedented number of artists from whom to learn.

One afternoon at the 1976 Festival I heard that a young Scots woman was going to do a ballad program on the main stage. I knew her primary Festival role was to work in the Children's Area, teaching her extensive repertoire of British traditional singing games, but I had also heard she sang a great many truly unusual British and Scottish bal-

lads. It occurred to me that the prospect of occupying the big bare main stage for an hour all by herself might be a bit daunting, so I dropped by for a chat backstage before she went on. And she said something that seemed to me to sum up one of the most unremarked — but most remarkable features of that never-to-be-forgotten summer. She said to me,

You know I came here with my little pack of Scots songs on my back, and then the next day when I walked up and down the Mall listening to the glorious African drums and the gorgeous religious choruses and the incredible string bands and all the music that's here from all round the world, I thought to myself, why will anybody want to listen to the little old tunes that are all I know? And I felt really frightened, and I almost wished I hadn't come. But do you know, every time I actually sing them, I just know deep down that they really are — they really absolutely are — the prettiest of anything!

And she walked out on the huge stage all alone, and her clear voice rang out with confidence, and indeed I had to think that perhaps the very song that she was singing at that exact moment could truly be the prettiest of all.

Somehow everybody always felt that way, all summer long. Every singer, musician, storyteller, crafts worker participating in every one of the twelve weeks of that so little heralded Festival thrilled to the excitement and glory of the vast differences being displayed all around them. And everybody was also thrilled to have it quietly and unostentatiously established for themselves, for all time, deep down inside, how equally (if not indeed more equally) wonderful their own particular art was. This has since become for me a test for the success of any multicultural presentation. If everyone (privately) truly thinks that theirs was the greatest while everybody else's was perfectly wonderful too, then we shall have together made the kind of a festival — and the kind of small world too — that we all dream can one day prevail.

Earlier this year, Bess Lomax Hawes retired as Director of the Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts.

film last year and documentaries made by film crews from Senegal, the Virgin Islands and Hawai'i — others from back home use the Festival as a field for their own examinations and interpretations of cultural issues.

With our acquisition of Folkways Records in 1987, we have integrated research and production of new recordings with the Festival. The 1989 Hawai'i program at the Festival produced research and documentation that led to three Smithsonian/Folkways albums, copies of which were distributed to every school in that state so that children could learn about their cultural heritage through contemporary media. The 1990 Musics of Struggle program at the Festival resulted in a jointly-produced recording with Sony Records. Curators of the 1991 Rhythm and Blues program, Ralph Rinzler and Worth Long, are in the final stage of production for another Sony album that, with documentary notes, will provide an interpretative musical view of African-American cultural history. In developing the Indonesia program at last year's Festival, and with the collaboration of the Masyarakat Musikologi Indonesia (Indonesian Ethnomusical Society) and a grant from the Ford Foundation, we produced the first three albums of a Smithsonian/Folkways multi-volume set of Indonesian verbal arts and music. The next group of albums is due out shortly. Producing them serves as a vehicle for training Indonesian students in fieldwork, archival processes and sound engineering. The Indonesian language edition of these albums will be distributed to Indonesian schools.

Other publications engendered by the Festival are numerous. Some, like the recently released *Smithsonian Folklife Cookbook* (Kirlin and Kirlin 1991) may reach tens of thousands of people through print and inspire participation in and appreciation of regional cuisine and economics. Others, like scholarly and museological analyses of the Festival (Bauman and Sawin 1991, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991, Kurin 1991) in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Karp and Lavine 1991) and other volumes and journals (McCarl 1988, Cantwell 1991, Seitel 1991, Kurin 1992, Stanton 1992) reach specialized professional audiences and contribute to the knowledge of cultural representation.

To be sure not all the impacts of the Festival are serious, profound or even praiseworthy. But many of them are. And they are part of larger efforts of communities and their cultures to per-

severe. I just returned from India, where I was gratified to hear about the importance of participation in the 1985 Festival Mela program and the related Aditi exhibition to the artists of Shadipur, a ramshackle Delhi squatters' slum. They well remember their experience on the Mall and their stunning effect on the American public. Laws curtailing their artistic practice were changed, and they gained organizational strength and civic recognition. Yet their main goal — to gain rights to purchase land so they can develop their own community and livelihood — has not been realized, despite promises from officials and even the former Prime Minister. For them, for collaborator Rajeev Sethi and for me, that Festival project still continues.

The Festival, as a colleague of mine says, "never ends." Mined, transformed and analyzed, it continues to be a rich multi-purpose vehicle for researching, representing, expressing and making culture. And though it may be guided by Smithsonian staff and fueled by federal, trust and private dollars, there are many diverse individuals, communities, artists, scholars, officials and others who build, shape, repair and improve on it and give it a life of its own.

This is true this year as well. The White House program has helped reunite workers who share in 20th century presidential history; their experience will, after the Festival, take the form of an exhibit and video documentary to be produced in Presidential Libraries. The New Mexico program is accompanied by the first two of several Smithsonian/Folkways recordings, and discussions are underway for bringing the Festival back home. "The Changing Soundscape in Indian Country" is first to be mounted on the Mall as a Festival program, and then to be followed by the production of Smithsonian/Folkways recordings and the mounting of a 1994 exhibition and performance program at the new George Gustav Heve Center of the National Museum of the American Indian in New York. And the Maroon program will enable leaders and people from dispersed communities, both joined and separated by 500 years of history, to meet each other for the first time and address common concerns.

The Festival generally implicates and accentuates ideas about community and personal identity, cultural values and policies held by those who participate. Participation in the Festival can be informed by the diverse concerns of tradition bearers, scholars, officials and others. The Festival may provide memorable means to worthy, even just ends; and as the following account of

an incident last year illustrates, the Festival may provide moments that unify people and ideas.

It had been a long, hot day at the Festival. The participants were back at the hotel relaxing over after-dinner conversation. An older Indonesian woman from Kalimantan (Borneo) was conversing with a man from North Dakota — a participant in the Family Farm program — with the help of a translator. The older woman was delighted to learn that the man knew about growing food, she also grew crops. An animated exchange ensued about the vagaries of weather, pesky insects, good years, bad years and other topics of universal concern to farmers.

Finally the woman shyly asked the question she had wanted to ask from the beginning, “Why are you always in that chair with wheels?”

The man spoke about the accident that had taken his legs.

Her response moved her new friend to tears. “You are so lucky,” she said. “All of us lose something of ourselves in life. I know many people who have lost pieces of their soul. You have only lost your legs.”

Citations and Further Readings

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The Great Loom: Weaving the Cultural Landscape of New Mexico

Andrew Wiget

Before the people there was the land. High mountains in northern New Mexico fork southward, forming arms. One curls westward to embrace the high mesa and plateau land, while the other thrusts directly south to separate the dry grasslands of the east from the fertile valley carved by the Rio Grande.

Stories tell that the First People found this land when they emerged onto its surface, born from the womb of Mother Earth. The Spanish and later the Mexicans also found this land, as they wound their way north on horseback or in carretas, following the course of the long, wild river, and establishing a permanent connection — the Camino Real — between northern New Mexico and Mexico. Then, from Texas, California, Oklahoma, came still others, who were determined to transform the land and tame the river. And today people still come, on family odysseys that began in Italy, Lebanon, Iran, Czechoslovakia, India, Poland, Japan or Germany. In one short stretch, the Rio Grande recounts this history as it passes near old communities like San Juan Pueblo and Embudo, then the new atomic city, Los Alamos, and then Albuquerque, a city of a half-million people.

Since the beginning of this century, New Mexico, now advertised as the Land of Enchantment, has lured tourists with the beauty of broad, dramatically punctuated spaces, a vast sky and the promise of viewing cultures frozen in time. But an empty land and peoples out of time are false dreams. Societies use land in many ways, not all of them visible to rank outsiders. And liv-

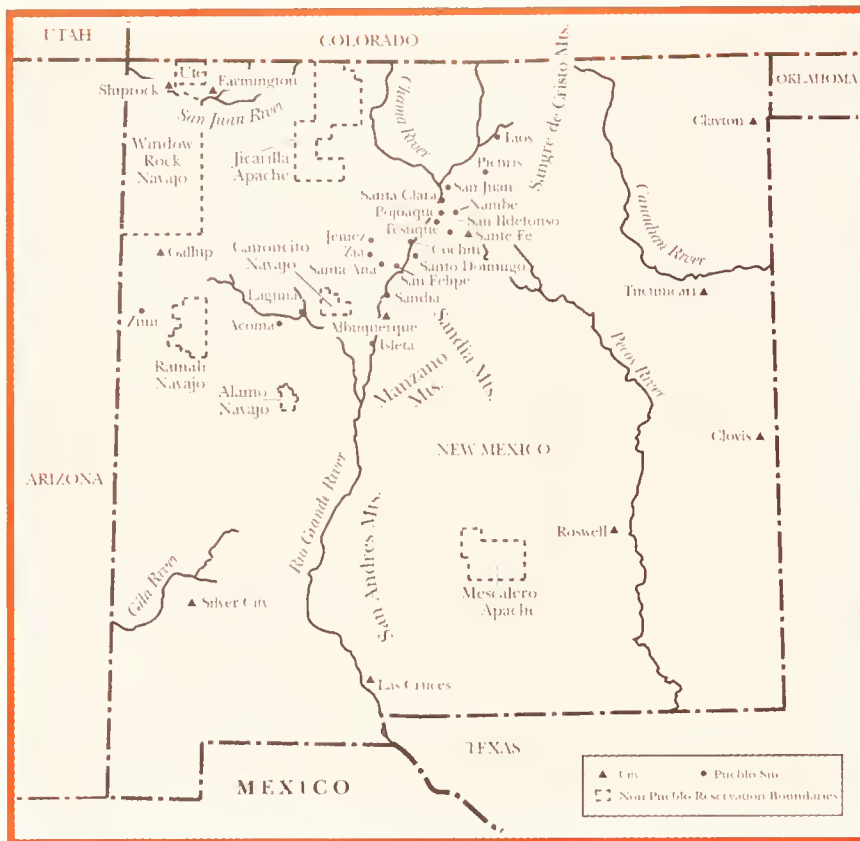
ing cultures are never at rest. This storied land is rather a great loom of space and time on which the complex social and cultural tapestry now called New Mexico is still being woven. The rich fabric that takes shape on the loom is not smooth and seamless, but knotted in places with contest and conflict. Its design has not been fixed beforehand but is still emerging, and strains to accommodate resisting elements into patterns of precarious harmony. It has been that way for a long time.

Contesting Visions: Resistance and Accommodation

Nearly 15,000 years ago, the first human eyes to look on this landscape searched the grassy plains for dark clouds of the now extinct herds of great bison. Much later, but still three millennia before the Christian era, maize agriculture was brought to the area, enabling a settled way of life. The permanent settlements later articulated with the vast Mesoamerican networks of trade and influence, and culminated in the Great Pueblo urban centers, probably multilingual and multiethnic, at Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde. Internal social conflict in the context of climatic change later brought down this system, and the population dispersed from the San Juan Basin to establish the many pueblos scattered throughout northern New Mexico that are today inhabited by their descendants. Later still came the Navajo and Apache, the Ute and the Comanche.

Marching under a cross and carrying a sword, Coronado entered the land in 1540 in his search for gold. He found villages of multistory dwellings clustered around a central plaza, and villagers who resisted his threats and would not bow to his authority. Coronado's foray inaugurated a half-century of expeditions that laid the foundation for Spanish colonization. In 1598

The New Mexico program has been made possible by the State of New Mexico, with the collaboration of the Department of Tourism, the Office of Cultural Affairs, the New Mexico Arts Division, the Museum of International Folk Art and with the assistance of the Tourism Association of New Mexico.



Juan de Oñate led 129 soldiers and their families, 10 priests, 83 wagon-loads of supplies and several thousand head of livestock into New Mexico. This group established the first permanent European colony near the junction of the Chama and Rio Grande rivers. As a result of outrages he committed when Indians resisted, Oñate was removed from the governorship in disgrace. In 1610 Oñate was succeeded by Peralta, who established the capital at Santa Fe and laid it out with a plaza and a church according to the prescriptions of Spanish colonial law. Villages and haciendas followed, but resistance from the Utes and Apaches often forced the Spanish subsequently to abandon more remote ranches and to consolidate their population in villages. Pueblo Indians sometimes responded to Spanish requirements for forced labor, demands for tribute paid in corn and cloth, and the brutal suppression of their Native religion with sporadic acts of violence against missionaries and soldiers. As Spanish settlement extended the

authority of Church and Crown, Native resistance grew. It reached a climax in the Pueblo Revolt of August 1680, a successful, concerted attack of the many Pueblos against missions and posted troops of the Spanish colony's northern frontier.

Few settlers and no missionaries in the remote areas survived the Revolt, and the Spanish retreated southward to El Paso del Norte, the present-day Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. Many Pueblo peoples, anticipating the return of the Spanish, took refuge in the hinterland among the Navajos. The Pueblo Indians shared with their hosts a wealth of traditions rooted in agriculture and the worship of masked spirits, which today culturally distinguish Navajos from their Canadian Athabaskan relatives. When the Spanish returned and established themselves in force in 1692, they found the situation changed considerably. Many pueblos had been

abandoned, and losses from war and famine had significantly reduced the Indian population. After 1700 many of the increasing number of Spanish settlers were granted Pueblo agricultural land, and Native landholdings were reduced considerably. There began a long period of dense and pervasive interaction between the Spanish and Pueblo peoples, sometimes hostile, sometimes benign. Its legacy is widely seen today in surnames, foodways, a *curandero's* vast knowledge of local herbal medicines, and a Pueblo community's celebration of a village saint's day feast. After 1700 the Spanish increasingly turned their attention to subjugating the Apaches, Navajos, Comanches and Utes, who regularly raided both Hispanic settlements and the Pueblos, now perceived as Spanish allies.

When Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821, Mexicans proudly claimed their mixed ancestry by fighting under the banner of the Virgen de Guadalupe. This image of the Virgin with a dark complexion had appeared to the Indian, Juan Diego, in 1531. The Mexicans defeated the forces of Spain, who fought under the banner of Maria la Conquistadora, an Old World image brought into battle against the Indians during the 17th century. The land

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THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE

Andrew Wiget

In the year 1531 — ten years after the Spanish under Cortés took the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan — the Virgin Mother of Jesus of Nazareth appeared on Mount Tepeyac and spoke in Nahuatl, the Aztec language, to an Aztec Indian named Juan Diego. She told him to tell the Spanish bishop of Mexico to build a church for her on the spot. After two failures to persuade the bishop, the Virgin made roses grow in December on an arid piece of desert and then told Juan Diego to take them in his cloak to the bishop. When he opened his cloak, the roses spilled out, revealing the Virgin's image. The bishop was persuaded and the image on Juan Diego's cloak is enshrined today in the church he ordered to be built.

Because of the Virgin's dark complexion, her Nahuatl speech, and her appearance on Tepeyac (also the site of a shrine dedicated to the Aztec earth-mother goddess Tonantzin), she celebrates the Indian inheritance of Mexico. Today, wherever people of Mexican descent celebrate with pride their heritage and their history of struggle for personal and national identity, the Virgen de Guadalupe appears as the mother of *la nueva raza*, "the new race."



Los Danzantes of Tortugas carry the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe into the Casa del Pueblo for an all-night wake, El Volorio. Photo by Pamela Bamert



Frank Alderet's *bajado* (lowrider) carries the image of the Virgin on the hood. Photo by Miguel Gandert



Wood santos carving of the Virgin of Guadalupe by Sabatina Lopez Ortiz. Photo by Lyle Rosbotham



Chetro Ketl, an Anasazi site in Chaco Canyon, was inhabited from the 9th to the 12th centuries.

Photo by Lyle Rosbotham

spread out under a new flag, but the relative isolation of northern New Mexico meant that little would radically change. This was not true of the south.

In the late 1830s and early 1840s Mexican settlement began in earnest along the river between El Paso del Norte and Socorro. Land grants were issued to colonize the Mesilla Valley, an area coveted for its agricultural potential but heavily contested by the Apaches. The name of Las Cruces, New Mexico's second largest city, memorializes a small forest of crosses on a mesa along the Camino Real, where Spanish colonists were buried following a fight with Apaches.

Newer colonies like Doña Ana, whose recently planted orchards had just begun to bear their first fruit, were soon swept up in what American history books call the Mexican War. When the war ended in 1848, all the land east of the Rio Grande had become American territory.

The Mexican government offered land grants west of the river to its former citizens who wished to remain Mexican. In this way Mesilla was established, but in 1854, when the Gadsden Purchase Treaty was signed in its plaza, Mesilla too became American territory. With American acquisition

came new enterprises — railroads, ranches, large farms — that transformed the landscape and dispossessed its peoples.

But southern New Mexico is and always will be *sin fronteras*, without borders. Nowhere is this fusion of peoples and traditions more evident than in the community of Tortugas, south of Las Cruces. Founded by Tigua families from Juarez and Ysleta del Sur whose ancestors survived the Pueblo revolt and fled south with the Spanish, the community of Tortugas preserves traditions of Tigua origin, those of Hispanic people from Zacatecas and other regions of Mexico, and those of several Mexican Indian peoples. Today, El Paso, Texas, founded as a result of the Mexican War, and Ciudad Juarez, Mexico (the old El Paso del Norte), have a combined population of more than a million and a half people, and together with southern New Mexico — from Columbus eastward through Las Cruces and the Mesilla Valley to Carlsbad — they form a single zone of social, cultural and political exchange.

Contested Spaces on a Storied Land

Broad sweep of the earth under a brilliant sky, rugged mesas in bold relief against a moun-



A cowboy herds cattle on the Bell Ranch ca. 1946. Photo courtesy Harvey Caplin Estate

tain-rimmed horizon: this land shines like an invitation. Where cottonwoods and willows followed watercourses, multiplying in shallow stretches to form thickets, or *bosque*, agriculture was possible, and clay for homes and pottery was at hand. The uplands and mountains provided good hunting, and later good pastures for sheep and cattle. And those whose eyes could peer beneath the earth found turquoise, silver and copper, and later oil, gas and uranium.

To the unknowing eye, New Mexico seems a vast and empty land, but even its most remote regions are culturally mapped; they are claimed by the imagination and the economy of more than one group and are often subject to competing visions. The lava-flows south of Grants, which Hispanic settlers called *El Malpais*, or The Badlands, because they were unsuitable for farming or grazing, are a sacred place to Navajos, Zunis and Acomas who recognize there the fossilized blood spilled when the Great Monster was killed by the Culture Hero Twins. Today, it is also a national monument, developed with hiking trails and campsites for recreational purposes. And the scars of the nation's largest uranium mine, the Jackpile, which closed in 1982, continue to desc-

crate the base of Mount Taylor, sacred to Navajos and Pueblo Indians alike.

The contest of cultural visions does not result solely from differences among ethnic groups. Listen to the late Joe Pankey, who ranched the arid lands near Truth or Consequences (formerly Hot Springs):

When I come here [in 1921] there weren't hardly any weeds in the country. And the big high wind, I guess — I don't know how else they got here — brought in a world of seed, brought in wheat seed, filaree and Indian wheat, all from Arizona. There's other different plants come in, too. I don't know where they come from, but some of them's cow feed and some of them's not....And dry farming didn't do the land here no good. Didn't have enough moisture. Farmers plowed up all the native grasses, then walked off and left it. Then the wind got to blowing on it, kind of swept it off, and all kinds of noxious weeds grew back.

When I was a boy, there was a lot of wildlife. But there wasn't any game protection, and people killed 'em all off....They

THE KLOBASE FESTIVAL OF DEMING, NEW MEXICO: A Time to Celebrate and Remember

Stephan Moore

The history of the Czech and eastern European community of Deming began in the 1920s with the arrival of many immigrants from south Texas, who were for the most part poor cotton farmers of Czech ancestry looking for better farming lands. Most immigrants brought a strong sense of Czech community and culture, and for a time, Deming was considered a trilingual community of English, Spanish and Czech speakers.

The first Klobase Festival was held in 1928 to help provide financial support for The Holy Family Catholic Church. It was organized by Frank Kretek Sr., Rev. J. Yannes, Victor Kostelnick and their families.

Klobase is a Czech word for the Bohemian sausage that is the main food served to participants in this event. Men smoke klobase and barbecue beef overnight, while women bake pies and cakes and make potato salad.

The Festival occurs on the third Sunday in October, a day that includes games, a large dinner of klobase and beef, traditional Czech and eastern European polkas and hops, and bingo.

The Festival has developed through the years from a small gathering of families to a large public event. In 1991 close to 3,000 celebrants attended the Festival. During the early years of the Klobase Festival all of the food was prepared at home, usually on a farm, but now, due to new health regulations, the food must be prepared in

a central location. The central location actually increases the socializing attendant on the event.

The Klobase Festival provides an occasion for members of the community to come together and to celebrate the end of the cotton growing season. Some Festival participants live in other counties and even other states, but every year they make the trip to Deming.

Stephan Moore is a graduate student in history at New Mexico State University.



Men spend several days preparing sausage for the Klobase Festival in Deming. *Photo by Stephan Moore*

killed deer here until you couldn't rest. Just big packs of people came. And the bears, they got them too, you know. Not much chance of anything to increase. And the mountain lions, if they hear about them, they'll be on their trail, too....The hunters, sometimes they tell me to get off my land. Oh, I have a helluva time with 'em. (Parsons and Garney 1987: 15-16, 12-43)

Family ranchers like the Pankeys hardly ever make ends meet; their average profit margin over a ten-year period is about one percent. They continue to ranch because they appreciate the wholeness of a life traditionally adapted to a diffi-

cult but compelling landscape.

Family ranching has been substantially altered by the industrialization of the beef industry. In some places in the state cattlemen use helicopters to manage vast ranges, and some elements of cowboy culture, such as saddlemaking and bootmaking, have become high art, priced beyond the reach of working cowboys. But many of the values and practices of traditional cowboy life can still be found on the small family ranches that survive in New Mexico. In some areas family ranchers work together on spring and fall roundups, with the men doing the branding in teams (rather than using the mechanical brand-

BLACKDOM

Philippa Jackson

In the 1840s Henry Boyer, a Free Negro from Pullman, Georgia, traveled to the Southwest while serving as a wagon driver in the Mexican-American War. He returned to Georgia and passed on stories of the Southwest and its wide open spaces to his family, including his nephew Francis Boyer.

Inspired by these tales, in 1896, Francis and fellow schoolteacher Dan Keyes walked from Georgia to New Mexico and founded the town of Blackdom. Blackdom was once home to 300 people who were drawn there by articles that Francis had written for southern newspapers promoting the idea of a self-sufficient community far from the persecutions of the post-Civil War South. Most who came were interested by the promises of free land. Like those who followed them, they came looking for a place to live, work, prosper and raise a family far from the ever-present racial oppression of Georgia.

The community center in Blackdom housed the school and several church congregations and was built with funding from the local school district — a contribution believed to be in response to local concerns about Black and White children attending the same school. "Once there were more than a few, they'd do anything to keep us apart," relates Mr. Boyer.

It was the scarcity of water that finally caused families to give up on the dream of the all-Black town of Blackdom. By 1920, the year of its legal incorporation, families had begun to drift away. Some families moved to nearby Vado, others to Roswell, Las Cruces and even Albuquerque.

Philippa Jackson is coordinator of the New Mexico program at the Festival of American Folklife.



Hazel Parker works on a quilt in her Roswell, New Mexico, home.
Photo by Gwendolyn Mintz

ing chute), the women serving out large meals of beef and beans and pie, and the families together dancing at the end of work to familiar fiddle music rooted in the Ozarks and Appalachia.

The coming of the railroad was a boon to ranchers. Herds formerly driven to local markets in New Mexico were now taken to railheads at Magdalena and Fort Sumner for shipment back East. By 1891, railroads had acquired nearly 3.5 million acres of land, including right-of-ways — nearly three times the total amount of government land sold to individuals. The railroad had a profound impact on all the people and land of New Mexico. The Navajo Reservation was

"checkerboarded," with alternating sections of land allocated to the railroad and to the Indians, seriously and permanently disrupting family and community life. Many Indians left traditional agriculture behind for wage labor on the railroads. The railroad also brought immigrants to the state and powered the boom in health-seekers and tourists at the beginning of this century. Towns like Deming and Clovis were born with the railroad. And railroad lore is very much a part of the state's cultural profile.

The railroads also transported workers and materials to and from the many mining districts that sprung up around the state in the last quar-



Drummers accompany Comanche dancers at the San Ildefonso Pueblo patronal feast, January 23, 1992. *Photo by Philippa Jackson*

ter of the 19th century. Indians had mined turquoise long before the coming of the Europeans, and the Spanish had copper mines almost as soon as they arrived. Silver and gold were mined in southern New Mexico, giving rise to stories of lost mines and buried treasures. The Apache leader Victorio is said to have buried a treasure of stolen gold bullion in a mountain named for him located now on the White Sands Missile Range; an active recovery effort is still underway. At Lake Valley's Bridal Veil mine the silver lode was so rich, it is said one could hold a candle to the wall of the shaft and melt sterling out of the rock. And to mining boomtowns came colorful figures such as Hillsboro's famous madame, Sadie Orchard, reputed, among other things, to have released her employees during the flu epidemic of 1918 to serve as nurses, and, for reasons best known to herself, to have set off a stick of dynamite beneath the chair of her husband's friend.

Today, extractive industries are still a critical element in New Mexico's economy. Gold and silver have gone, but "black gold" was found in southeastern New Mexico in the 1920s and began an oil and gas boom in the region that has survived several setbacks. And a new yellow ore — uranium — was an important resource especially in the 1970s and 1980s. These industries have shaped a body of workers' occupational lore focused on skill and danger, but have scarred the land badly and altered the lives of its



Elizabeth Taliman with niece Shannon Vigil, and daughter Zonie Miera, participate in festivities of San Ildefonso Feast Day. Their family is of Cochiti, Navajo, San Ildefonso and Hispanic heritage. *Photo by Philippa Jackson*

inhabitants forever. This is especially true in the uranium belt of northeast New Mexico, where Indian land and Indian health has been ruined by the mining and the milling of the yellow ore. It is no wonder then, that Leslie Silko, the prominent novelist raised at Laguna, has compared the blast pattern left by the first atomic blast at Trinity Site in White Sands, New Mexico, to an evil sandpainting that celebrates death not life.

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SEEKING LIFE

Tito Naranjo

A Hopi potter, Al Qoyawayma aptly expressed Pueblo reverence for the land when he said about earth and clay, "I know that some of the clay may even contain the dust of my ancestors — so — how respectful I must be and think, perhaps I too might become part of a vessel, someday!" (Trimble 1987).

The Tewa Pueblos of north central New Mexico practice a philosophy of daily life that they refer to as *Gi Woatsi Tuenji*, "We are seeking Life." Complementary to Seeking Life are the concepts of *Tsigikan*, *Tsekana Kanpo* or "We have been loved, we have been honored (by our supernaturals)." These concepts signify actualization and fulfillment in Seeking Life.

Seeking Life is process, practiced in a relative and bounded sense by children, adolescents and young adults, who have yet to "blossom" as Tewa. Flowering occurs sometime in adulthood when individuals become full Tewas. This flowering renders them completed or "finished" people: life's many experiences have taught the adult Tewa the multiple meanings of Seeking Life.

Life experiences in traditional contexts are necessary keys to this Tewa processual way of living. A primary experience necessary for actualization (the process that leads to "flowering") is connectedness with the land, *Namhi Gia*, our Mother Earth. Every Tewa adult has learned the spiritual essence of all so-called "inanimate" objects and living organisms, which include dirt, rock, trees, grass, sky, clouds, air and animals; all move in synchronized cycles of life. One's own life also becomes an extension of these generalized yet specific life forms. A natural consequence of this perspective is reverence for the entire context, which in contemporary America is called the ecological environment.

Another example of the implications of Seeking Life is taken from the sky, when a cloud is not a cloud. A cloud is personified as a spirit, and so when thunderheads amass over Southwest summer skies, a Tewa will say, "They (supernaturals) are preparing to visit us. We hope they will bless us today." While on a walk, the same Tewa may find a stone of pleasing shape or colors. With cupped hands, the stone is swooped past his open mouth as air surrounding the stone is

inhaled. The stone may be returned with these words, "Thank you, you have shared your spirit and life with me today." Taking breath, *haa honde*, recognizes the spiritual essence of supposedly inanimate objects.

Religious ceremony and dances bring life to individuals and the community in a ceremonial completion of Seeking Life. Any dance with religious significance must include the use of *Tse*, or evergreens, which symbolize the circularity of life and especially of water. Of all evergreens, the douglas fir is revered as an intermediary to supernaturals who bring Tewa the good life. A small douglas fir always stands in kiva corners during practices for ceremonial dances and receives the cornmeal offered to it by all dancers. After the tree is so used, it is returned to the Rio Grande, whose water takes the spirit of the fir and recycles it — through the circularity of water — to ocean, to clouds, to rain and to its return back to all fir trees. Sometime in a person's late maturity in Tewa thought, all pieces of oral tradition come to fit together, and adults come to realize that they are a part of the context and everything in their context is a part of themselves.

On an ordinary day when a Tewa stands and offers cornmeal to thank supernaturals as the first glimmer of light defines the Sangre De Cristo Mountains on the eastern horizon, this prayer may be uttered.

Ye who are not humans
Ye who are spiritual beings
I thank you for strength
strength given to my arms
strength given to my legs
strength to think good thoughts.
I thank you for life today.
May it be in unity with
this ground upon which I stand.

A Tewa has been seeking life. A Tewa has found life.

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Citation

Trimble, Stephen. 1987. *Talking with the Clay*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Life on the Land

In New Mexico, land, water and people are intertwined in ancient, profound and intricate ways. Nowhere is this more immediately visible than in the cultivated fields, the verge that lies between the village and the open space of mountains, desert and range. Fields may be intimate environments, like the historic Zuni waffle gardens, whose enclosed, raised bed construction conserve the water carried to it in pots like an offering. Fields may be planted in flood plains, with small diversion dams, to channel runoff to the thirsty corn. They may be dry farms, unirrigated plots ranging from an acre of Indian corn to more than 100 acres of soybean. They may be long strips of irrigated land, subdivided within a plot held by an Hispanic family for more than 200 years, which cling to the branches of the *acequia madre*, the mother ditch. Or they may be vast fields of cotton linked within an elaborate irrigation district to Reclamation Service dams.

Fields are often not only a source of food, but a focus of faith and community responsibility. Some Indians plant prayer feathers in their fields to bring rain, and they sing and dance for the growing corn that eventually becomes their flesh, a gift of Mother Earth. In northern Rio Grande Pueblos, social organization often reflected division between the summer and winter seasons: the communities were divided into groups known as Squash and Turquoise people, and through them community labor was mobilized to tend the elaborate irrigation systems established before the coming of the Spanish.

Elsewhere, Hispanic villagers cluster behind the image of San Ysidro, patron saint of farmers, as their procession winds its way from church to the blessing of the fields. The first collective work undertaken by the founders of these small villages was to construct acequia irrigation and build a church. Historically, field and church were also brought together in the role of the *mayordomos*, who were responsible for supervising the work on the ditches, the distribution of water, and the production of a village saint's day fiesta.

And in another place, on the dry lands of the Llano Estacado, an Anglo dowser feels the power of the water witch in his hands pulling the wand down towards the water that waits for crops. Meanwhile, others worry that water allotment overages on the Pecos River — for which Texas must now be compensated — will restrict their own productivity.

Historically, the meeting place for these

divergent interests has been the village plaza. The familiar town square of an English village, widely replicated in New England, originated in the common ground set aside for grazing cattle, later evolving into a park-like setting for human socializing. Both the Spanish colonial plaza and the Pueblo Indian plaza, on the other hand, independently began as open spaces for people to come together for a wide variety of activities: political action and public gossip, markets and trade fairs, and sacred processions and ritual dance.

The Spanish village plan as set forth in the colonial decrees of Philip II required new settlements to maintain a central block of public space. An adjacent block was dedicated to the church, which fronted the plaza, and another adjacent block was given over to government business. The other two sides of the public space were occupied by commercial activity and occasionally by residences, though most residents received quarter-block allotments, which they enclosed with walls closely fronting the principal street.

The church anchored the plaza and consecrated its space with faith. From the church a saint's day procession went out carrying the saint's image through the plaza and into the historic core of the community. From the church *Las Posadas* began: a combination of novena and folk drama on the nine days before Christmas, the procession reenacts, in village streets and homes, Mary and Joseph's search through Bethlehem for lodging. Before the doors of the church *Matachines* danced in honor of a saint or the Virgin of Guadalupe, and dramatized the struggle between grace and evil and the protection accorded to the pure soul for her safe deliverance into the arms of Christ. And in the plaza might also be reenacted — on horseback and with much spectacle — folk dramas about the victories of colonization: *Los Moros y Los Cristianos*, commemorating Spain's ancient struggles with the Moors, and *Los Comanches* and the 19th-century *Los Tejanos* celebrating victorious combat against Indians and Texans, more contemporary opponents. Through all these enactments, the plaza was both historicized and sanctified, its space transformed by performance. In these events the presence of the church sanctioned the community's continued existence, while in a crowd its members publicly renewed the collective faith and memory.

Historically, Indian pueblos had one or more plazas, often indistinguishable from other open

spaces in the community until the Spanish erected mission churches near them. Pueblo plazas were associated with kivas, chambers partly or entirely underground, where the men prayed and prepared themselves to become the masked spirits who dance in the plaza. Today some pueblo plazas apparently have no defining characteristics. Others feature a *sipapu*, a small hole in the plaza floor, most of the time so discreetly covered by rock that it passes unrecognized by the unknowing eye. It indicates that one or more kivas are nearby.

Just as the cruciform plan and vast vertical spaces of the Gothic cathedrals are architectural metaphors for the Christian mystery of death and resurrection, so also do the kiva and sipapu represent a mystery, for the Puebloan peoples believe they emerged from the womb of Mother Earth into the daylight of the Sun Father. Origin, life, power and history emerge on a vertical axis linking sun and earth, just as the thirty or so masked spirit dancers emerge from the darkness of the kiva into the light of the plaza on a ladder through the kiva roof. Their emergence consecrates the space they occupy.

A blending of Pueblo and Hispanic traditions occurs at El Santuario de Chimayó. The original site was a Tewa Indian shrine: when the Twin Gods slew the Great Monster, fire burst from the earth and hot springs bubbled up; when they receded only mud was left, which had curative powers. Later this Native belief in the healing powers of the local earth merged with a Hispanic belief in cures attributed to Nuestro Señor de Esquipula. The figure appeared to a prominent Hispanic landowner, some say out of the ground itself, others say as an image of clay, and the man was healed. Later the Santo Niño de Atocha came to replace Nuestra Señora de Esquipula as the patron of the shrine. The chapel of the Santuario was built at the beginning of the 19th century and is adjacent to a room in which pilgrims collect the sacred earth. In this belief in the restorative powers of the earth, Hispanic and Pueblo traditions are powerfully fused.

For both the Catholic and the Pueblo believer, the plaza is a focal point in a larger sacred landscape sustained by rituals, narratives and shrines. Sacred places anchor cultural worlds and are collectively tended. Attendance at sacred events and access to consecrated spaces has always required more than simply good intentions. Participation requires knowledge and responsibility, not self-assumed but conferred by a community of believers. Respectful visitors

THE SEPHARDIC LEGACY IN NEW MEXICO:

The Story of the Crypto-Jews

Stanley M. Hordes

After 500 years of secrecy, groups of Hispanic crypto-Jews, or hidden Jews, are now beginning to emerge from the shadows in New Mexico and other parts of the southwestern United States.

These crypto-Jews descend from Sephardic Jews forced to convert from Judaism to Catholicism in Spain and Portugal in the 14th and 15th centuries. While some sincerely converted, many others secretly held on to their ancestral faith. To escape persecution by the Holy Office of the Inquisition, many of these *conversos* migrated to the Spanish colonies in the 16th and 17th centuries, settling in metropolitan centers such as Lima and Mexico City. Once the Inquisition established itself in these New World capitals, however, it became necessary for the crypto-Jews to seek refuge in more remote parts of the Spanish colonial frontier, including New Mexico.

Secret Jews came with the first colonizing expeditions to New Mexico of Gaspar Castaño and Juan de Oñate in the 1590s, as well as with the later trading ventures in the 17th and 18th centuries. Many of these families passed on their Jewish consciousness from generation to generation down to the present day; others eventually lost their Jewish identity but continued to practice vestiges of their ancestral faith without knowing why.

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should be aware of a dismal history of cultural depredation. It was only this past year, for example, that the Zuni tribe was able to recover the last of its War God images. These had marked sacred space on Zuni land for centuries until they were stolen from their shrines and scattered across the globe to serve the wishes of social scientists, art collectors and aficionados. The annals of such abuse grow longer every time a shrine is disturbed or the value of a ceremony is discounted, or the right of a community of faith to define its own practice is ignored.

Weaving Time and Tradition

Different ways of organizing and performing a single craft, just like different meanings given to the same land, can index a history of cultural values. This is certainly true of weaving in New Mexico.

When the Spanish arrived, they found the Pueblo Indians weaving cotton into *mantas* (shoulder blankets women wore as dresses), men's sleeved or sleeveless shirts, breechcloths, and dance kilts. Cotton thread was spun on a spindle made of a long slender rod, with a disc, or whorl, at the bottom to serve as a weight and a base on which to gather the thread. The rod, wrapped with cotton, was twirled between the thigh and the hand of the spinner, and the thread wound on the whorl. The thread was then dyed with vegetal dyes and woven on a vertical loom. Belts were woven on a narrow waist loom.

The Spanish introduced sheep into New Mexico and wool soon became the fibre of choice for weaving. With it came wool carding, indigo dye, and crochet work done with needles instead of hand-looping.

Spanish weaving in New Mexico was done on large treadle looms capable of producing lengths of cloth of up to 275 feet, as one 1638 invoice of material made in Santa Fe for sale in Mexico indicates (Boyd 1974). Such practice clearly reflects a mercantile orientation to cloth production. The vertical loom of the Pueblos simply cannot be used to produce on such a scale, and Indian resistance to adopting the treadle loom, at the same time they accepted other aspects of Spanish weaving technology, suggests that they continued to see weaving as essentially domestic production for local use and small scale trade. It is not clear whether the spinning wheel came to New Mexico with the Spanish. If it did, it was soon replaced in Spanish weaving practice by the rod-and-disc spindle of the Pueblos, which was easily adapted to wool (Boyd 1974). Why this happened is not clearly known, but it may be a result of using young Indians taken as slaves for spinning.

By 1700, wool weaving was widespread among the Rio Grande Pueblos, the western Pueblos of Acoma, Laguna and Zuni, and the Navajo, who



A woman weaves on the Navajo Reservation ca. 1943. Photo courtesy Harvey Caplin Estate

Annie L. Pino spins yarn in her home on the Ramah Navajo Reservation. Photo by Andrew Wiget

probably learned weaving from Pueblo weavers they took as captives or from those seeking refuge among them after the Pueblo Revolt. Navajo weavings had become prominent trade items by the early 18th century, but Pueblo influence on them was limited to the technology itself; Navajo weavers did not adopt Pueblo designs. In the early 19th century when hostility between Navajos and Spanish colonists increased, Navajo children were taken as captives or purchased from the Utes. As weavers they produced the "slave" or "servant" blankets in Spanish homes on Indian vertical looms. In one scholar's view, "the presence of these Navajo weavers in Spanish households may help to account for the appearance of Navajo-style terraced figures and for the design distribution on some treadle-loom blankets" of the period (Kent 1983). Navajo design featured a large central figure with quarters of that figure replicated in the corners, a pattern that mirrors the Navajo view of the cosmos as centered on a principal sacred mountain, with another mountain anchoring each of the four directions.

Late in the 19th century, Rambouillet-merino sheep were introduced to replace the churro sheep used up to that time for wool. At the same time, commercial dyes began to replace vegetal dyes, and the local intimate knowledge about the multiple uses of local plants consequently began to decline. The shorter, oilier, curlier merino wool meant more time for processing and more sheep to produce needed quantities. Sheep herds increased through the 1920s, until they were dramatically, often violently, reduced among Indians and Hispanics alike, by the implementation of the Taylor Grazing Act. In the past decade Hispanic weavers of Ganados del Valle and the Ramah Navajo Weavers Association have reintroduced the churros in their communities. They also are strengthening fragile but viable traditions of vegetable dyeing and are



cooperating in new strategies to control economic and aesthetic values in their weaving practice.

Unquiet Land, Uncertain Future

Five hundred years after Columbus, the complex engagement between Europe and America, which his voyage has come to symbolize, continues to produce patterns of accommodation and resistance. Conflicting uses and meanings for the same land seem inevitable in New Mexico, where more than 70% of the land is managed by the state or federal government, and where a significant percentage of local income is derived from tourism. Multiple-use policies for public lands, driven by the belief that no one should be denied access to anything, permit the recreational development of lava-flows near Grants, which are held sacred by the Navajos, Zunis and Acomas. They allow the consideration of siting an asbestos landfill near the sacred mountain where the Navajo culture heroine Changing Woman



Irene Jaramillo and son, Dave Jr., completed the lowrider "Dave's Dream," as a tribute to their husband and father in Española, New Mexico. Photo by G. Benito Cordova

emerged into this world. While ranchers and environmentalists argue over killing coyotes and the amount of damage cattle do to grasslands, Indians displaced from the same land look back across a fence at sacred sites desecrated out of ignorance or greed.

Cultural traditions are not immutable heirlooms passed down from one generation to the next. We shape traditions by the conflicted choices we make today, weaving a design that can never be wholly foreseen.

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El gran telar: Tejiendo el paisaje cultural de Nuevo México

Translated by José Griego

Los cuentos nos relatan que los Primeros Seres descubrieron esta tierra al salir a la superficie, nacidos del vientre de la Madre Tierra. Los españoles y más tarde los mexicanos también la descubrieron, al seguir la corriente a lo largo del Río Bravo, estableciendo un enlace permanente — el Camino Real — entre el norte de Nuevo México y México. Después vinieron otros de Texas, California, Oklahoma, determinados a transformar la tierra y amansar el río. Hoy en día, siguen llegando de Italia, Libano, Irán, Checoslovaquia, India, Polonia, Japón y Alemania en odiseas familiares. En un espacio de corta distancia, el Río Bravo recuenta esta historia en su recorrido cerca de las comunidades antiguas como la del pueblo de San Juan y de Embudo, de la nueva ciudad atómica, Los Alamos, y de Albuquerque, una ciudad de más de medio millón de personas.

Las sociedades utilizan la tierra de varias maneras, no todas visibles al forastero. Las culturas vivientes no descansan. Esta tierra vibrante de historia es como un gran telar de espacio y tiempo en el cual un complejo tapiz o tejido sociocultural ahora llamado Nuevo México continúa tejiéndose. Los primeros poblados que más tarde han de relacionarse con las redes extensas de influencia y comercio mesoamericanas culminaron en los grandes centros urbanos del Cañon Chaco y de la Mesa Verde de los pueblos, que probablemente eran multilingües y multiétnicos. Aún más tarde llegaron los navajó y los apache, los yuta y los comanche, años antes que se escuchara la primera palabra europea en estos sitios. Coronado inauguró medio siglo de expediciones que prepararon la colonización española. En 1598 Juan de Oñate guió 129 soldados y sus familias, 10 sacerdotes, 83 carretas de provisiones y miles de animales a Nuevo México.

Al ganar su independencia de España, México orgullosamente reclamó su mestizaje al luchar

bajo la bandera de la Virgen de Guadalupe. Esta imagen de la Virgen María se le quedó al pueblo mexicano después de su aparición al indio Juan Diego en 1531. Los mexicanos derrotaron las fuerzas españolas, quienes peleaban bajo la bandera de María la Conquistadora, una imagen europea que encabezó las guerras contra indígenas durante el siglo XVII. La tierra creció bajo una nueva bandera, pero el aislamiento del norte de Nuevo México previno que este cambio los afectara radicalmente.

Al que desconoce, Nuevo México le parece una tierra extensa y desolada, pero aún las regiones más remotas las reclaman la imaginación y la economía de más de un grupo cultural, cuyas visiones de la tierra frecuentemente están en competencia. En Nuevo México, la tierra, el agua y la gente se intercalan de las maneras más intrincadas y profundas. En ninguna parte es esto más evidente que en los campos cultivados que vacan entre la aldea y el espacio abierto de los llanos, de las montañas y de los desiertos. Donde hay agua en Nuevo México, también hay gente.

Quinientos años después de Colón, el intercambio complejo entre Europa y América que su viaje ha llegado a representar, se continúa produciendo patrones de adaptación y de resistencia. Conflictos sobre el entendimiento y el uso de la tierra parecen inevitables en Nuevo México donde más del 70% de la tierra es administrada por el gobierno estatal o federal, y donde un porcentaje significativo de sueldos locales provienen del turismo.

Las tradiciones culturales no son herencias inmutables pasadas de generación a generación. Nosotros moldeamos las tradiciones cada vez que hacemos una decisión, por conflictiva que sea. Y así vamos tejiendo el diseño del tejido cultural que no conocemos en su totalidad de antemano.

The Indo-Hispano Legacy of New Mexico

Enrique R. Lamadrid

Struggle is as prominent a feature of the New Mexican landscape as its mountains and deserts. For centuries the successive inhabitants of the upper Rio Grande have resisted each other's attempts at social subjugation and cultural conversion. This history has produced one of the most culturally diverse regions in North America. Such conflicts find direct expression in folk traditions, whose evolution reflects the course of inter-ethnic relations between Hispanics, neighboring Pueblo Indians and the nomadic Indian groups, who were the Pueblos' traditional enemies.

When Spanish and Mexican Indian colonists settled New Mexico in 1598, they encountered Keresan and Tanoan agricultural settlements and pueblos clustered along the Rio Grande and its tributaries. Far to the west lay the remote Pueblos of Zuni and Moqui (Hopi). When they imposed tributes, relations with the Natives became tense and uneasy. Eventually, Franciscan missionaries did achieve a measure of success in Christianizing the sedentary Pueblo peoples. The Indians added the Holy Family and saints to their pantheon of kachina deities and gladly accepted the new plants, animals and technologies that the missionaries introduced. But the religious zeal and intolerance of these Franciscans coupled with the rapaciousness of the civil authorities inevitably led to conflict. A well-coordinated rebellion drove the Spanish colonists and their friends into exile in the El Paso area.

After the great Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and the Reconquest of 1692, the colonizing Spanish and the colonized Pueblo Indians were obliged to amend their position as adversaries. Surrounded on all sides by roving, generally hostile

bands of Athapaskan (Navajo and Apache) and Shoshonean (Ute and Comanche) peoples, the Spanish and the Pueblo Indians gradually became trusted allies. They lived under this protracted siege through the 18th century. The alliance of Pueblos and Spanish increased their cultural accommodation and mutual tolerance. The Pueblos were able to retain many aboriginal religious and other cultural practices that were obliterated forever in many other areas of New Spain.

Needless to say, the enemy nomads resisted altogether the efforts of the twin majesties of Spanish State and Church to bring them into the colonial fold. The numerous victims of this conflict — orphans, captives and slaves — became known as *genízaros* ("Janissaries"), an emerging class of detribalized Indians. As *criados* ("raised ones" or "servants") living in the intimacy of Spanish households, they became more thoroughly hispanicized than the Pueblo Indians. As they moved into society to populate assigned military buffer zones, these New World Janissaries evolved their own unique style of hispanicity and made a major contribution to the culture, especially the folk Catholicism, of the region.

Despite the long New Mexican tradition of cultural autonomy, ethnic boundaries are permeable, and a subtle synthesis of Hispano and Native American cultures can be seen and felt all across the region. Basic foodways and architectural traditions have long been shared in the region. Although local Indians cultivated corn, beans and squash, chile was unknown in New Mexico until the Spanish and their Tlaxcalan Indian allies brought it from Mexico along with European domestic animals and crops. Pueblo Indians built with local timber, stone and mud, but the Spanish introduced the mud brick, or adobe, that they had acquired from the Arabs. Motifs and techniques of craft traditions were also selectively exchanged. In music, the cultural

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exchange can be easily heard. Widespread in the 19th century, the *indita* ballads sung and danced by Hispanos address the topic of cultural relations while they emulate and incorporate Indian melodies.

Spiritual traditions also mingled. At the Indian pueblos, ancestral dances for the Animal Spirits of winter and the Green Corn of summer are dedicated to Christian saints. For Holy Week, thousands of pilgrims converge from all directions to the Santuario de Chimayó, a chapel built directly above an ancient Tewa shrine famous even in ancient times for the healing properties of its earth. The Native concept of the sanctity of the earth is particularly strong in this place.

In both Indian and Hispano pueblos, allegorical characters of the *Matachines* dance reenact the spiritual drama of the Conquest in a play of indigenous and European symbols that combines sacred and burlesque elements. Decked out in multi-colored ribbons and shawls, two lines of dancers with rattles and hand-held tridents step, bow and turn to the graceful music of violin and guitar or drum and form geometrical patterns, including the cross. They are led by Monarca, a monarch figure also referred to in some communities as Montezuma. *La Malinche*, a little girl dressed in a First Communion dress, represents the first Christian convert. She dances and mimes with other characters, which include a bull and clown/bogey man figures called the *abuelos*, or "grandfathers," who kill and castrate the bull at the end of the last movement of the dance. The dance may vary in significance and details among communities. In Hispano communities like Bernalillo, it has a strong sacred character and is part of the devotion to San Lorenzo. In Indian communities like Taos it is a secular celebration with much clowning.

Hispanic cultural fascination with non-Pueblo Indian cultures developed quickly, in part because of the more intimate social relations they experienced with the nomadic Indian captives joined to Spanish households and families as *criados* (servants). Pueblo Indians might be allies and trusted neighbors, but a *genízaro* with Comanche, Navajo, or Apache roots might be living under the same roof, taking care of the children and singing them Native lullabies. Hispanos in the village of Alcalde impersonate their former foes in *Los Comanches*, a play performed on horseback which celebrates the military defeat of the great chief Cuerno Verde (Green Horn) in 1779. "Los Comanches" was originally performed in the villages west of Albuquerque as

LOS MATACHINES

On Christmas day, 1991, in Picuris Pueblo, a young girl in a First Communion dress dances the part of La Malinche in Los Matachines, a dance-drama that is performed in both Pueblo and Hispanic communities on important holidays (and is described more fully in the opposite column). During the colonial period, this symbolically powerful public performance was used for evangelization, and it seems to draw upon both Indian and European dance-dramas for its content and form. Its ultimate origins are still the subject of scholarly discussion.



Photo by Philippa Jackson

part of a nativity play with the same name, in which a group of Comanches dances for the Holy Child then takes him captive. As part of its version of the play, the *genízaro* community of Rancho de Taos preserves a large repertory of Comanche music and dance from the 18th and 19th century. This drama of captivity and redemption is performed on New Year's day and other special occasions. The Comanches celebrations are truly regional and cross-cultural, since they are also performed in the Indian pueblos as part of the winter cycle of "enemy dances."

For several generations of folklorists, it has

been the custom to separate and distinguish the Spanish traditions from those of the Indians of New Mexico. Conflict has indeed preserved cultural differences, but it has also created varied and complex Indo-Hispanic or mestizo traditions which serve as a fascinating register of cultural and historical relations.

LOS COMANCHES:

An Excerpt Translated by Enrique Lamadrid

The following excerpt is from *Los Comanches de Castillo*, a play in popular verse once performed all over New Mexico but now only in Alcalde. Enacted on horseback, with frenzied harangues, the play is structurally similar to the Spanish folk drama, "Moors and Christians" and is based on colonial campaigns against the Comanches that occurred in 1774 and 1779. In this speech, Cuerno Verde, "Green Horn," the Comanche chief declares his readiness for battle.

From the sunrise to the sunset,
From the south to the frigid north,
It sounds, my shining trumpet.
It reigns, this steel of mine.
I campaign fearless and bold,
And great is the valor
That reigns in my breast...

I restrain the boldest,
I devour the most audacious.
In my bravery I admire
The most arrogant bear,
The fierce mountain lion I defeat.
And only the Spaniards
Restrain my valor.
But today there will flow
Blood from the vengeful heart.
Memory reminds me
Of a brave Spaniard
Who proudly and with valor
And with great, fearless spirit
Dressed the body in flowers
With blood for their colors.
Of the dead stretching into the distance —
Men, women and children —
There is no counting,
Not numbering of the captives.

Hey, noble captains,
Valorous Janissaries,
Let my edict be proclaimed:
That I as General will be ready.
Let the drum and flute be sounded!
To the dance, to the forward point of war!



Francisco Gonzales, Jr. celebrates his *genizaro*, (Hispanized Plains Indian) heritage in Comanche dances on New Years Day. Photo by Enrique Lamadrid

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La Música de los Viejitos: The Hispano Folk Music of the Rio Grande del Norte

Jack Loeffler

Spanish culture came to northern New Mexico with a musical heritage whose wellsprings lie in European antiquity. Its traditions continued to evolve as descendants of the Spanish colonists melded into the *mestizaje* of *La Raza*.

The mountains around the Rio Grande del Norte still ring with echoes of songs sung in Spain hundreds of years ago in narrative ballads called *romances*. This musical form branched off as early as the 12th century from the tradition of epic poetry and bloomed in the 13th century when *jugglares* — wandering acrobats, jugglers, poets, dancers and musicians — performed in public squares and noblemen's houses. Passed down through generations, these ballads generally exalted the deeds of warriors, kings and the gentry. They were eagerly listened to by everyone including chroniclers and historians, who regarded the romances as popular accounts of significant events.

Traditionally, the melodies of the romances are 32 notes long. This conforms with poetic stanzas comprised of two rhymed or assonated lines of 16 syllables. A few of these old romances are still to be heard in New Mexico and southern Colorado. One of the best known is "Delgadina," a tragic ballad of incest and death.

Delgadina se paseaba
de la sala a la cocina
Con vestido transparente
que se cuerpo le ilumina.

Romances can also be extremely humorous as is the case of *Don Gato*, "Mr. Cat," who was chasing a beautiful Moorish pussycat when he leapt and fell, mortally injuring himself much to the

delight of local mice. A form related to the romance is the *relación*, a humorous narrative ballad still popular. One of the best relaciones is entitled *El Carrito Paseado*, which was written in the 1920s and tells the tale of an old, broken-down jalopy.

Tengo un carrito paseado
Que el que no lo ha experimentado
No lo puedo hacer andar

Tiene roto el radiador
Descompuesto el generador
Se le quebró la transmisión.

A form of narrative ballad that has evolved from the romance is the corrido. Vicente Mendoza, the late, eminent Mexican ethnomusicologist stated, "The Mexican corrido, a completely popular form...is an expression of the sensibility of our people, and its direct ancestor, both literary and musical, is the Spanish romance." Where the romance mostly treats the exploits of the gentry, the corrido describes events, often tragic and violent, in the lives of common people. This form achieved great status in the New World during the last century, when Spanish-speaking people struggled for collective survival in a social environment far distant from the Iberian peninsula. When the corrido came into currency, the international boundary between Mexico and the United States was drawn further north, and present-day New Mexico lay south of that boundary. Music, like the wind which carries it, is stirred by a myriad of forces.

Corridos usually include the date and time of the event described and often the name of the composer. Sometimes they end in a *despedida* or concluding refrain with the words "Vuela, vuela, palomita..." "Fly, fly, little dove..." The corrido is generally composed in stanzas, comprised of four lines of eight syllables each.

During the many decades of conflict that culminated in the Mexican Revolution, the corri-

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Pedro Casias teaches the dance music of the Northern Rio Grande Valley to his grandson, William Pacheco. Photo by Jack Loeffler

do became something of a journalistic device whereby the people learned of recent events and popular opinions about them. It has been said that the history of Mexico from 1845 may be traced from the texts of corridos. Recently in northern New Mexico, corridos have been written about a soldier in Vietnam, the courthouse raid in Tierra Amarilla in the late 1960s, and the great prison riot near Santa Fe in the early 1980s. The author of some of these is Roberto Martínez, one of New Mexico's most celebrated folk musicians, who performs with Los Reyes de Albuquerque.

Another form of narrative ballad, of great importance in the past but now rarely heard, is the *indita*, a form that combines Hispanic and Indian elements. While the *indita* is thought to have originated in Mexico, it came into prominence in New Mexico in the 19th century, when Hispanic and Indian cultures contended for territory in the hinterland beyond pueblo and village. Some of the *inditas* told sad stories of Hispanics captured by the Indians, wrenched from their families never to be returned.

The *canción* is yet another musical form that

is still popular among *la gente* of the Rio Grande del Norte. The *canción* is not restricted to a particular meter, a freedom not available in the forms mentioned earlier. According to Arthur Campa, "The subjective quality of the *canción* reveals more readily the fine nuances of folk sensibility in outpourings of the lovelorn, in candid denunciations of unrequited lovers, in sincere expressions of undying affection, and in melancholy mutmurings of the introvert." Almost any theme can become the subject of a *canción*. One of the most popular of the *canciones* is entitled "Don Simon" and is an elder's lament on the conduct of the younger generation. Even though this song appeared in print as early as 1888, it is still sung today — several younger generations later!

Many of the vocal forms that were still popular at the beginning of World War II are now moribund. There was the *décima*: traceable to 15th century Spain, the form ordinarily has introductory *planta* of four octosyllabic lines followed by four stanzas of *ten* octosyllabic lines — hence the word *décima*. Aurelio Espinosa once regarded the *décima* "as one of the outstanding

examples of the persistence of Spanish tradition in New Mexico." The *trovo* is a poetic contest in which two or more poets sing alternate verses. In this dialogue a wide range of themes may be addressed, from philosophical to insulting. Rubén Cobos regards the *trovo* as a poetic joust. Few recall these latter musical forms, but Cipriano Vigil — one of New Mexico's great folk musicians and one of the greatest tradition keepers of his time — includes fine examples of each of these forgotten forms in his enormous repertoire.

The brothers of the *Hermandad de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno*, popularly known as the Penitentes, are greatly misunderstood by those who live outside their religious practice. It was the *hermanos* who helped sustain the Christian tradition in the Hispanic villages of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado through their long period of isolation from trained clerics. The *hermanos* perform functions vital to the well-being of their respective communities throughout the year, although they are most commonly associated with the rites they observe every Lent. The *hermanos* conduct funerals, aid those in need, minister to the distressed and in general assume responsibility for the good of the community. They maintain a web of mutual aid that helps the community endure.

The *alabados* is a musical form sung by the *hermanos* and some lay people. The *alabados* are sung to a very slow, mournful tempo, and the modal structure of their melody lines suggest a medieval influence. The only musical instrument played while singing the *alabados* is the *pito*, a wind instrument similar to the soprano recorder.

Two musical instruments have come to prevail at the *bailes*, or dances, in the villages of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado — the violin and the guitar. At the time of the Spanish Conquest, neither the violin nor the guitar had assumed its current form. The modern violin came into currency in Europe in the opening years of the Baroque era, which spanned the period from 1600 to 1750. The modern guitar took shape nearly two centuries later. However, the conquistadores and early colonists were accustomed to viols and vihuelas and to traditions of dance that extended deep into European antiquity.

Dance music of the Renaissance has long since disappeared from the collective memory of the gente of northern New Mexico. However, one active and rich dance tradition extends back at least to the beginning of the 19th century. *La*

Varsouviana, one of the most popular dances in the Rio Grande del Norte region, evolved from the mazurka, which originated in the plains of Mazowsze, the area where Warsaw is located. It was apparently introduced in the salons of Paris by the dance master, Désiré, in 1853 and is purported to have gained great favor with the Empress Eugenie, wife of Napoleon III. It is known among English-speaking people as "Put Your Little Foot."

Napoleon's agent, Archduke Maximilian, briefly presided as Emperor of Mexico from 1863 to 1867 when Mexico was under French domination. The Archduke's wife was caught within the sway of the Empress Eugenie and was anxious to enliven the salons of Mexico City with the latest Parisian fashion, so she imported dances and melodies with a swift grace. Many of these dances found their way northward to become part of the evolving tradition of the Hispanic Rio Grande del Norte.

The waltz, which originated as an erotic spring dance in the Bavarian Alps, lent itself to several graceful dance forms in New Mexico including the *redondo* and the *valse de los paños*. Both of these are danced not in couples, but in small groups. The *chotis* is a two-step derived from the schottische, itself thought to be a German transmutation of a Scottish folk dance. The polka entered New Mexico from both the south and the east during the presidency of James Knox Polk, and polka jokes are said to have run rampant. *La Camila* came straight from Paris, and *las cuadrillas* are directly descended from the French quadrille, a form of square dance. *El talean* is also a form of square dance, but its name suggests Italian provenance.

Some dances actually originated in New Mexico. *El vaquero* implies the presence of the cowboy whose history long precedes that of his Anglo counterpart. Some say that *la cuna*, the cradle dance, originated in New Mexico, as did *la indita*.

One of the most interesting dance traditions in the New World is *Los Matachines*, a dance drama which I believe combines characteristics of both European and Indian origins. It is danced both in Indian and Hispanic villages to music performed on the violin and guitar.

Musical forms appear and become aligned with a prevailing culture and then wane with the passage of their season. This loss does not necessarily impoverish a tradition that continues to evolve, as does the musical heritage of Hispanic America. The advent of electronic instruments

and modern media may well hasten the pace of change, but the tradition continues to build upon itself, chronicling the spirit of its time in new ballads, accommodating the frenzy of the late 20th century with different dances, and even challenging the political system and its bureaucracy in a recently created musical form known as *nueva canción*.

The musical heritage of the Hispanic Rio Grande del Norte has as distinguished an ancestry as the culture has of which it is part. This music is an expression of a people from whose soul pours forth song with passion and poignance — it is the music of la gente.

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Religion in Community Celebration

José Griego

Religion in the traditional cultures of New Mexico has played an important nurturing role, as people struggled to survive in a very harsh land over the course of many centuries. New Mexican communities celebrate together on religious feast days with intricate rituals from age-old traditions. Traditional dance, folk drama and music are common modes of religious expression that embrace celebrants and valorize spaces.

Some Pueblo dances such as the Rain Dance of the Keres and the Hopi Snake Dance have become closed to outsiders, due to their sacredness. But others are shared with whoever congregates at the Pueblo plaza on designated feast days, which sometimes coincide with Catholic holidays. Pueblo communities combine Christian and Native religious practices and perform social dances such as the Deer Dance, Buffalo Dance, Hen Dance and many others in particular cycles or at certain seasons of the year.

Like many of the Pueblo dances, the *Matachines* dances, which are shared by both Pueblo and Hispanic villages, are performed publically and are considered social in nature although they have religious themes. The *mestizo* (Indo-Hispanic) prayer dance, San Luis Gonzaga, which contains verses in the medieval romance form, is evidence of a shared culture created by centuries of co-existence. The 16th century play, *Las apariciones de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (The Apparitions of Our Lady of Guadalupe), is handed down in certain families and communi-

ties. The Indian Virgin has special spiritual significance for both Indian and Hispanic cultures.

For some Hispanics, the Christmas season is not complete without attending the humorous yet didactic folk drama, *Los Pastores* (The Shepherds), of medieval Spanish origin. The impression of this play is so strong that its idioms are repeated throughout the year. Franciscan priests used the didactic themes in its dramatic dialogue, dance and music to teach their message to Native American and Hispanic communities. In the village of Santa Cruz, the medieval drama that reenacts the re-conquest of Spain from the Moors, *Los moros y cristianos*, is performed on horseback annually for the feast day of the Holy Cross. The Penitente brotherhood, a lay organization that kept the faith alive for decades in many rural communities where a priest only visited once a year, uses the public dramatization of the passion of *Nuestro Padre Jesús* (Our Father Jesus) and the performance of hundreds of medieval *alabados* (hymns), to maintain the faith.

Religious pilgrims of several faiths in New Mexico converge on sacred places such as the Taos Blue Lake, the Santuario de Chimayó, the four sacred peaks of the Navajo and Chaco Canyon. The unique ambience created by isolated high desert, snow-capped mountains, ancient Anasazi ruins and the variety of religious traditions in New Mexico has drawn new religious communities to the state, such as Sikhs, Tibetan Buddhists and Muslims. A newly formed monastic community of Benedictine monks pray and contemplate at the Christ in the Desert Monastery in northern New Mexico, following the ancient tradition of monks who flee to the desert to pray and contemplate the Spirit of God.

José Griego is co-curator of the New Mexico program at the Festival of American Folklife. He is the author, with Rudolfo A. Anaya, of Cuentos, Tales from the Hispanic Southwest.



Two lines of dancers holding rattles and tridents form geometrical patterns in a *Los Matachines* performance. Photo by Philippa Jackson



An outdoor mass is held at Chimayó on Mother's Day, 1990. Women make an annual pilgrimage to the Sanctuary to pray to the Virgin of Guadalupe. Photo by G. Benito Cordova

La Vida Buena y Sana: Curanderas y Curanderos

Tomás Atencio

The practice of folk medicine by Indian and Hispanic herbalists, medicine men and *curanderos* is guided by knowledge and religious beliefs exchanged among practitioners over the course of several centuries. Indians shared their knowledge of native plants such as *coyaye*, *oshá*, *amole*. Hispanics also brought medicinal herbs to the Americas which they shared with their Indian neighbors. Hispanic curanderos refer to herbs with healing properties as *remedios santos*, holy remedies.

Over the centuries, segments of the Indian and Spanish communities merged to create Indo-Hispanic or mestizo culture. *La vida buena y sana* (the good and healthy life) is a concept shared within the Indo-Hispanic community as a whole.

Well-being, health and wholeness are the pathways to plenitude — the body in harmony with its environment, with itself and with others, and with God and His creation. Health is harmony and balance: balance of hot and cold, of joy and sorrow, of giving and receiving. Health is the act of penitence and the acceptance of grace; it is taking from nature to support life replenishing nature's bounty. That is the ideal in the traditional Indo-Hispanic community.

In everyday life, an imbalance of hot and cold may lead to the common cold; interruptions in the conversations between our heart and mind may bring pain to the soul; and violations of the word of honor among men and women

may breed envy, jealousy and hatred. The forces of evil that invade life are the denial of our own transgressions and the rejection of God's grace. A once bountiful nature that no longer yields as it did reflects human's disrespect towards the fountain of our survival. This is the real world of the Indo-Hispano.

Some people are born with the gift to know the roots of disharmony and with the power and the efficacy to restore the balance, that is, to cure. This gift is *virtú*. A person with the gift of *virtú* apprentices with a master and vows not to exploit what is within his or her vision and realm of knowing. The person dedicates his or her gift to the service of others, and in this way becomes a healer — a curandera or curandero. The curanderos' medicines, remedios, include native herbs that are boiled into teas and drunk, or ground into powders and then turned into pastes or penetrating ointments and rubbed on the body with gentle massage. Remedios also may be rituals with burning candles and *santos*, prayers, litanies and dance, and many other kinds of prescriptions as well.

Curanderos and curanderas are born from communities of faith and serve communities of believers that seek fulfillment through La Vida Buena y Sana. It is no surprise that curanderos and curanderas benefit those who believe.

Tomás Atencio, Ph.D., from Dixon, New Mexico, is a professor of Sociology at the University of New Mexico.

Adobe

Alberto D. Parra

Our world is in the midst of a housing crisis. Cities abound with the poor whose need for shelter grows. In America, where home ownership is the heart of the American Dream, fewer and fewer can afford it because of the cost of land, labor, materials and financing. Governments and individuals fail to see the earth under their feet as cheap, common building material. New Mexico and the American Southwest could very well have found the solution in adobe.

Adobe is one of mankind's earliest building materials. The word itself has roots in an Egyptian hieroglyph denoting brick. An etymological chain of events ultimately produced the Arabic *at-tob* or *al-tob* ("sun-dried brick"), which then

spread to Spain in the form of the verb *adobar*, "to daub or to plaster." The Spanish Conquest brought the word adobe to the New World where it still exists today.

Generally, any building that employs soil or mud as a primary material can be considered adobe. It is certain that when mankind became non-migratory, these early civilizations built their first permanent structures with adobe.

Remains of adobe structures have been discovered in Mesopotamia dating as far back as 7000 B.C. Hand- and form-molded bricks have been found in the ruins of structures such as the Walls of Jericho, Egyptian pyramids, sections of China's Great Wall, the Alhambra Mosque, the Mosques of Fez and Marrakesh and the Saudi Royal Palace at Riyadh. The earliest use of adobe in the Western Hemisphere is 3000 B.C. in the

Alberto D. Parra is a licensed adobe contractor in Albuquerque.



Like many churches in New Mexico towns and villages, the Sagrada Familia Church in Pajarito at Black Mesa, Santa Fe County, has been restored by community and volunteer effort. *Photo by Jim Gautier*



Carmen Romero Velarde began working with adobe at the age of ten. This fireplace is in the kitchen of her Ranchos de Taos home. *Photo by Pete Reiniger*

Alberto Parra used 18,000 adobe bricks in the construction of this contemporary home in Albuquerque. *Photo by Robert Reck*

Chicama Valley in Peru.

I came to the tradition of adobe construction in the early 1960s, in Albuquerque, where I was reared by my great-grandmother. One day when I was eight or nine years old I met Don Gaspar García who was making adobe bricks near our home in Old Town. He looked up at me and said, "Well are you just gonna stand there and look at me or are you going to come and help?" With my great-grandmother's permission I began working for Don Gaspar.

By the time I was 21 years old, he had taught me all he knew of the art of making adobe homes and encouraged me to apply for my contractor's license. Since then I have been working full-time as a builder and designer of adobe homes. I have learned from working with Indians from Jemez, Acoma and Laguna. I've also been influenced by Don Gaspar, Fr. Benedicto Cuesta (former curator of the Museum of New Mexico), and architect John Gaw Meem, among others. I design homes according to traditional dimensions and build fireplaces that heat the home. I enjoy looking at houses in disrepair and imagining how I could build a new home like it.

Just about anyone can build an adobe house. Requirements are few. Most important are patience and desire. While the skeleton of most wood frame homes can be built in two days, a typical adobe home with the same square footage can take two to four weeks. The time,

and the physical effort of working with the earth have a lasting therapeutic value. Adobe building gets us back to the land. It is of great benefit in our present society to have somewhere or someplace to be nurtured. The massive qualities of an adobe home make it a place of refuge and a place to be refreshed. It is where the soul is soothed.

Because it is of the earth, in the true adobe there is no sharpness, no edges, no harsh angles. It flows and imitates the land that surrounds it. And because of its origin, when the adobe's journey is finished, it quietly descends back to its source, as often seen throughout New Mexico.

In today's Earth First consciousness, adobe is and should be the first alternative for basic shelter, a very basic need that eludes many. New Mexico's traditions and heritage could easily be at the forefront of a cause as important as this.

The outstanding quality of the architecture of New Mexico is its elegant simplicity; or as some say, "It's simply elegant!" The earth (*nuestra tierra*) makes the walls so that the house of the *pobre* (poor) and the house of the wealthy are not so very different after all. It is probably the only place in this world where that happens.

Acequias

Patricia D'Andrea

On August 11, 1598, the first Spanish-inspired irrigation ditch, or acequia, was dug near present-day San Juan Pueblo in northern New Mexico. The workers were 1,500 Pueblo people, and the overseers were the Spanish conquistadores in Don Juan de Oñate's expedition. Basing their design on Pueblo practices and those of their own agricultural tradition, the Spanish settlers built acequia systems in every new settlement. By the late 1800s there were hundreds of acequias in the area.

In most communities, irrigation was so important that the system was begun even before the houses, public buildings and churches were finished. People usually lived clustered together in towns surrounded by cultivated fields and pasture land. Most families depended upon their small, irrigated tracts of land to supply them with almost all of life's necessities.

Physically, the acequia system includes a diversion dam with a moveable headgate for releasing or stopping the water, a main ditch channel (usually called the *acequia madre*, or "Mother ditch"), lateral ditches leading from the main channel to irrigate individual parcels of land, and a wasteway channel to return surplus water from the system back to the stream. Acequias are usually dirt ditches, and the diversion dams may be built of almost anything, from brush to native rock to plywood covered with old carpet.

Socially, an acequia association is composed of owners (*parciantes*) of the lands irrigated by a single main ditch channel. Owners pay dues to the association, and every spring they are responsible for cleaning the ditches and restoring the



Acequias (irrigation ditches) were often dug before houses and other buildings were completed. Today, the acequia is a recognized political subdivision of the State. Photo courtesy Harvey Caplin Estate

channels. You know it's spring in New Mexico when you see the workers cleaning ditches. Each association has three commissioners and a *mayordomo*, all elected by the membership. Their responsibilities are to make sure that each *parciante* receives his or her proper amount of water at the proper time.

There are at least 1,000 acequia associations in New Mexico today, most of them in north central New Mexico. The farms served by these acequias range from less than one acre to over 500 acres, with the majority less than 20 acres. Acequias that bring water to small dry fields are still often compared to the veins and arteries that bring blood to all parts of the human body, so essential are they to the continued existence of a very important part of New Mexico.

Patricia D'Andrea lives in Santa Fe and is completing a five-year writing project, an exploration of the Rio Grande entitled *Rio Grande: Rio Bravo: A Tale of Two Rivers*.

Mining Folklore

Patricia Music

In the New Mexican Hispanic tradition, *duendes* are ghosts of children who can inhabit mines. They play mischievous pranks, sometimes tossing pebbles around. Generally they're thought to be good luck, and a mine with a *duende* is blessed.

Tommyknockers, brought to New Mexico by the Cornish miners, signal danger by knocking on the walls. A miner who hears a tommyknocker will immediately look around to see if he's been careless or a dangerous situation has developed.

Occasionally, miners are warned by the ghost of Bonnie Coone, who died during the Alaska gold rush. He and his partner had found a paying claim, but his greedy comrade killed him by causing a cave-in. When a miner sees Bonnie Coone, he must immediately search for

the reason the spirit came to warn. But if he's smiling or whistling, no danger exists. He's just visiting.

Priests regularly came to bless the mines, and shrines were often constructed underground. Hispanic Catholic mining families in southwestern New Mexico celebrated Holy Cross Day, May 3rd. Miners didn't work on this day. They walked in procession through the mine, carrying a handmade cross and lighting off gunpowder along the way. At the bottom of the mine, they lit candles and prayed for safety. Then they brought the cross back out of the mine, and women joined in a procession to the home where the cross would be installed. A fiesta followed.

Mining is a very hazardous occupation, so it is not surprising that miners occasionally receive a little help from supernatural sources.

Patricia Music, who has an M.A. in American Studies, lives in Silver City, New Mexico, and began work on mining folklore several years ago when she married a working miner.

Richard Manning separates larger rocks on a grizzly (sorter), at the Challenge mill and smelter near Mogollon, New Mexico. Photo by Patricia Music



The Folklore of the Oil Industry

Jim Harris

A cycle of stories told in the southeastern New Mexico oilfields since the 1960s features two hippies as its central characters. In one story, one hippie tells the other that he is going to work in the oilpatch because he heard they have a pusher on every rig and fifty-foot joints. For folks not familiar with the industry, a tool pusher is the foreman on a drilling rig, and as the drilled hole gets deeper, sections of pipe called "joints" are put together to keep the drill bit on the bottom.

Like other occupations, oil industry workers have their own verbal art, customs and practices that are unique to it, and the hippie joke illustrates just one aspect of a rich and varied tradition. Occupational jokes, anecdotes and tales circulate among roughnecks and engineers about famous and foolish workers, heroic and tricky deeds, and spectacular accidents. For instance, Houston oilfield firefighter Red Adair appears in stories as a heroic figure, while fictional comic versions of him populate the industry's jokelore.

Some themes of the jokelore travel widely among ethnic and occupational groups. For instance, the roughneck — the lowest paid hand on an oil rig, known by many derisive names — is portrayed as the dunce of the oilfields, similar to the way Irishmen, Poles or Aggies are por-

trayed in other cycles of stories. Whether the stories travel widely or are unique to the industry, many are humorous and bawdy.

Oilworkers also have their own body of superstitions and customs. It is bad luck, for instance, to speak, even indirectly, about a "blowout," or explosion in a well, for fear that speaking about such a catastrophe will cause it to happen. The "pushers," or foremen on the rigs, wear cowboy clothes, as much because of the image of the cowboy as because it is the local costume in west Texas. "Roughnecks" or "weevils," who do the real dirty work, go to the rigs every day in outfits they call "greasers." No one ever wears leather gloves, despite the physical wear on the hands; instead cloth gloves are used so that they can be ripped off quickly if they are ever caught in the machinery. There are, of course, enormous financial rewards for working in such dangerous conditions, and by custom these are sometimes celebrated by having a barbecue just before bringing in a well that promises to be very productive.

In these depressed 1990s not many people travel to the oilfields to find work, as the hippie does in the joke. But whoever comes to the oilpatch finds a group of friendly people bound together not only by common financial concerns for a volatile oil and gas business, but also by a shared body of traditions that helps the besieged industry stay together.

Jim Harris teaches at New Mexico Junior College in Hobbs, New Mexico.

UFOs and Nuclear Folklore

Peter White

On March 26, 1880, at Galisteo Junction, near Santa Fe, a railroad engineer and two friends reportedly encountered a hot-air balloon shaped like a fish and occupied by people speaking a foreign language who dropped fine, silk-like paper inscribed with Japanese characters. This early UFO account reflects local anxiety over the technological and social changes introduced by the railroads. Similarly, modern UFO accounts from the 1940s to the present reflect a suspicion of government research activity and of everything related to nuclear technology. Contemporary tales of cattle mutilations and alien abductions further illustrate how some New Mexicans feel threatened by the scientific research conducted almost literally in their own backyards.

The Nuclear Age began in New Mexico, where established Native societies maintain spiritual and ritual-oriented cultures. This collision between older and super-modern worlds gives rise to post war and contemporary folklore and popular culture. In local and national lore and especially in Hollywood films, Native American shepherders or anachronistic cowpokes discover alien spacecraft hovering in the clear night skies of the desert Southwest or crash-landed in the draws and arroyos somewhere near White Sands Missile Range. Sometimes nuclear lore appropriates Native American images: in the early science fiction films, mutant ant or spider-like creatures emerged from the desert, just as

people once arose from underworlds through *sipapu*, the sacred place of emergence often pictured in Navajo sandpaintings.

Tales and legends about space travel abound. Some residents of Roswell, home of many famous UFO encounters, tell of four-foot-tall aliens captured in the late 1940s and secretly transported to Los Alamos where they were kept alive and studied for several years. Other New Mexicans maintain that there are nine underground levels below Los Alamos, housing various military and political “cabinets” headed by such powerful but elusive figures as Henry Kissinger.

Local narratives indicate suspicions of high-tech research. Ranchers in northern New Mexico repeatedly report seeing military helicopters hovering over their rangeland pastures just before they discover their cattle have been strangely mutilated and drained of all their blood. Some tell of seeing laser weapons employed in these midnight raids.

Nuclear folklore sometimes displays an ironic humor. Some say Trinity Test Site got its name when Col. Lex Stevens noted that Jumbo, the new atom bomb, sat at Pope’s Railway Siding, and the “Pope has special access to the Trinity.” But others say the name derives from three atom bombs — an “unholy trinity” — that were under construction at the time.

This modern lore grows out of the stark juxtaposition of some of the oldest and most traditional forms of American life with some of the newest and least familiar. That common themes are used to understand this encounter indicates the vitality of local cultures, even as they are threatened.

Peter White is associate professor of English at the University of New Mexico. He is the author, with Marta Weigle, of The Lore of New Mexico.

Preserving Traditional Culture in New Mexico

Claude Stephenson

Preserving culture. A paradoxical concept to be sure; it seems to imply that something as lively and fermentive as culture can be suspended, like the proverbial “bug in amber” for future generations to gaze upon in some glass-encased museum display. As Folk Arts Coordinator for the State of New Mexico, I prefer to think of my role as perpetuator of cultural traditions. And indeed, New Mexico’s rich cultural heritage makes my job quite pleasurable and easier than most.

This bright, arid land has been home to many cultures. The harsh, unforgiving climate and the stark yet colorful beauty of the landscape seem to bring out the spiritual and artistic in all who have chosen to settle here. From pre-historic Anasazi pottery to today’s computer-generated imagery, New Mexico has always been rich in art.

Traditional art is part and parcel of a living culture. It cannot be separated from its culture and retain its vitality and sense. Without the social and economic conditions that allowed a particular artistic form to develop and flourish, it cannot survive. Thus, preserving culture in New Mexico requires more than just photographing and recording what exists at this moment or acquiring artifacts for museum display. It requires perpetuating the conditions that allow traditional culture to flourish.

For example, to preserve weaving traditions in western and northern New Mexico, the Arts Division has assisted local cooperatives that share resources and consolidate marketing of artisans’ works. I administer apprenticeship programs that support artistic masters in passing on their traditions to dedicated apprentices within their community. The Museum of International Folk Art has long encouraged folk art through acqui-

sitions that support grass-roots artists, through sponsorship of research projects such as the New Mexico quilt survey, and through an active series of public education programs, which include workshops, demonstrations and performances by traditional artists. This museum is also the repository for all the research that my predecessor, Dana Everts, has done and that I will continue to do in documenting the traditions of today’s practicing folk artists in the state.

The Heritage Center at New Mexico State University, under the direction of Dr. Andrew Wiget, is becoming an important archive of oral histories, and is helping to document and understand the artistic traditions of southern New Mexico. The Maxwell Museum of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico has been a repository of unique Southwest traditional cultural artifacts for many years. It continues this tradition by sponsoring exhibits such as a recent one on Zuni fetish carvers by Marian Rodee, curator of Southwest Ethnology and James Ostler, Director of the Pueblo of Zuni Arts and Crafts. The John D. Robb collection at the University of New Mexico Fine Arts Library is perhaps the best collection of early New Mexican music in the world. Jack Loeffler, an ethnomusicologist from Santa Fe, and Adrián Treviño, of UNM’s Hispanic Services Center, continue Robb’s tradition today, documenting the unique music of the Southwest, which continues to exist in the face of the pervasive forces of radio and television. The Arts Division also supports artistic projects around the state that are designed to educate communities about the rich and varied traditions that exist around them. And we are participating in the Folklife Festival on the Mall to make others aware of the rich heritage that exists in the Southwest.

In our efforts to preserve cultures, we must be careful not to weaken or significantly alter the dynamics from which they developed and contin-

Claude Stephenson is the Folk Arts Coordinator for the State of New Mexico.



Churro sheep are herded to pasture in the Chama Valley of northern New Mexico. Community members in the Valley formed a weaving cooperative to preserve local traditions of raising sheep and weaving textiles. Photo by Terrence Moore

ue to exist. We must also be wary about casting our own cultural judgements on the validity and viability of traditional art forms. For cultural traditions are not really the same as endangered biological species; the earth's eco-system will not be altered if an art form evolves or dies. Surely some will be mourned in passing, but an art form kept alive apart from its context loses its power and beauty. An *alabado* (hymn) sung on the Mall gives a listener a glimpse into the culture from whence it sprang, but experienced in the context of a *morada* (Penitente church), the music is spiritual and moving in a way that cannot be duplicated elsewhere.

Although we regret that we cannot physically transport you to our enchanted land, it gives us great pleasure as New Mexicans to share our cultural treasures with all of you who participate in this Folklife Festival.



Once told by a Navajo trader that her mud toys "were not Navajo," Mamie Deschillie fashions her figures, like this rider with giraffe, after the clay figures made by many Navajo children, but extends the repertoire of forms. Photo by Lyle Rosbotham

Pueblo Pottery: Continuing a Tradition

Tessie Naranjo

My great-grandmother, Mother Corn, born in the 1870s in Santa Clara, raised my mother and taught her pottery-making at an early age. My mother had eight children, and we were all introduced to pottery-making as early as she was. We went out for the clay, helped to mix the temper and gathered materials for firing. As we grew to adulthood, we made our own pots. The succession from my great-grandmother to my brothers and sisters and me is a small segment of an old, continuous tradition of Pueblo pottery-making.

Archaeologists say that Pueblo people have been making pottery for almost 2,000 years (Peckham 1990:1). To the Pueblo person, however, the practice of making pottery and its forms and designs comes from our beginnings, from the beginning of creation. My community, Santa Clara Pueblo, speaks Tewa. To the Tewa the world is a sphere of earth and sky. The sky, the upper hemisphere, is called a basket, as in a Tewa song: "The blue-flower basket on the top of heaven [sky] seems. It gleams and all is done" (Spinden 1933:79). The lower hemisphere of this world is seen as a pot or bowl.

Pottery-making is more than the simple creation of an object from earth. The word *nung* in Tewa means both "earth" and "us." It speaks to a feeling that we are of the earth, that the pot and the person are one. Maintaining our relationship with all things that are alive, such as rocks, trees, animals and clay, is basic to our sense of well-being. The potter and clay are partners in each process of creation. A Santa Clara potter describes this relationship, "the clay is very self-ish. It will form itself to what the clay wants to be. The clay says, I want to be this, not what you want me to be" (Trimble 1987:13). The clay must be loved and nurtured so that she will, in turn, love and nurture. In this world, generations of

Pueblo mothers have taught their children the making and meaning of pottery. To this day we teach our children to dig the clay, to crush the temper, to mix and shape them into the beautiful forms and to etch designs onto the forms, all while respecting the clay. In all of the 19 Pueblo communities in New Mexico, this connection with clay has been repeated and taught generation after generation.

My mother taught me how to make pottery. Now I teach my children how to make pottery. My granddaughter...she makes pottery. We start from the beginning, making a bowl, that's how we learn (Pueblo potter, 1990).

Tessie Naranjo, Ph.D., from Santa Clara Pueblo, is Director of the Santa Clara Cultural Preservation Program and the Santa Clara Senior Citizen's Building Project.

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Ganados: Revitalization of Rural Life in Northern New Mexico

Maria Varela

From a March 23 letter to Festival staff:

Ganados del Valle/Tierra Wools is an effort of community people to utilize weaving, sheep raising and other traditional practices to strengthen our community and culture. Today, *as well as* during the last 400 years, our way of life is based on the need for sustenance, spirituality, family and community. Weavings created in this context are both artistic and spiritual expressions as well as successful in contributing to the economic underpinnings of our culture.

Weaving in New Mexico was either sustained or destroyed by numerous interventions over the last 300 years. And while there is on-going debate about their impact, many Native American and Hispano families weaving today are descended from those who had been involved with the trading posts, the railroad, anthropologists, assorted academics, the WPA, the New Deal programs, and poverty programs of the 1960s.

These interventions came from people and institutions external to villages and Native communities. Among the impacts was the severing of the cultural practice of weaving from its economic and social role. The commercialization of agriculture, agricultural modernization programs by the BIA and Land Grant Universities and the replacement of churro/Navajo sheep with the greasier commercial breeds disconnected weaver from flock. Mill-spun yarn, often from New Zealand, was purchased by weavers wanting to use a quality yarn which they could afford. Meanwhile, locally-grown wool went begging on the commercial market and family farms/ranches languished.

Another impact of external interventions was the mystification of folk art that has led most young people in our villages to believe that unless they are “artists,” they could not be successful in weaving.

Eight growers and weavers from the Tierra Amarilla area decided to form Ganados [in

1983] out of concern for their families, villages and way of life. People were selling their sheep which meant that agricultural lands would lay idle. This portended a decline in traditional agricultural activities. What would the next generation do with the land and water? The second concern was how to put the area back on its feet economically in a way that would strengthen the culture, create jobs and make agricultural land productive.

This group chose wool and weaving as one answer to economic revitalization because of a commitment to protecting culture, which meant to us the necessity of restoring an economy based on our native resources and cultural practices — especially at a time when the State of New Mexico was pushing a downhill ski resort for Tierra Amarilla.

Ganados established Tierra Wools and re-established the connection between the land, the flock and weaving. This current intervention has begun to revitalize the economy and inspire other villages.

Early on we discovered that our flocks still had remnants of the old churro breed. In 1984 we began to restore this breed within family flocks. Hearing of this, a group of Navajo weavers from the Ramah band became interested. The result has been a cooperative relationship between the two groups over the last eight years which has brought increased funding and technical assistance for both, recognition from the State Legislature and most recently the sharing of a computer expert in helping create accounting and inventory systems.

It is my hope that this letter will encourage you to make one of the clear focuses of the Festival how Ramah and Ganados have restored weaving to the core of our respective cultures.

Maria Varela, with Antonio Manzanares, founded Ganados del Valle in the Chama Valley of northern New Mexico. She is a MacArthur Fellow.

The Santa Fe Railway and Tourism in New Mexico

Peter White

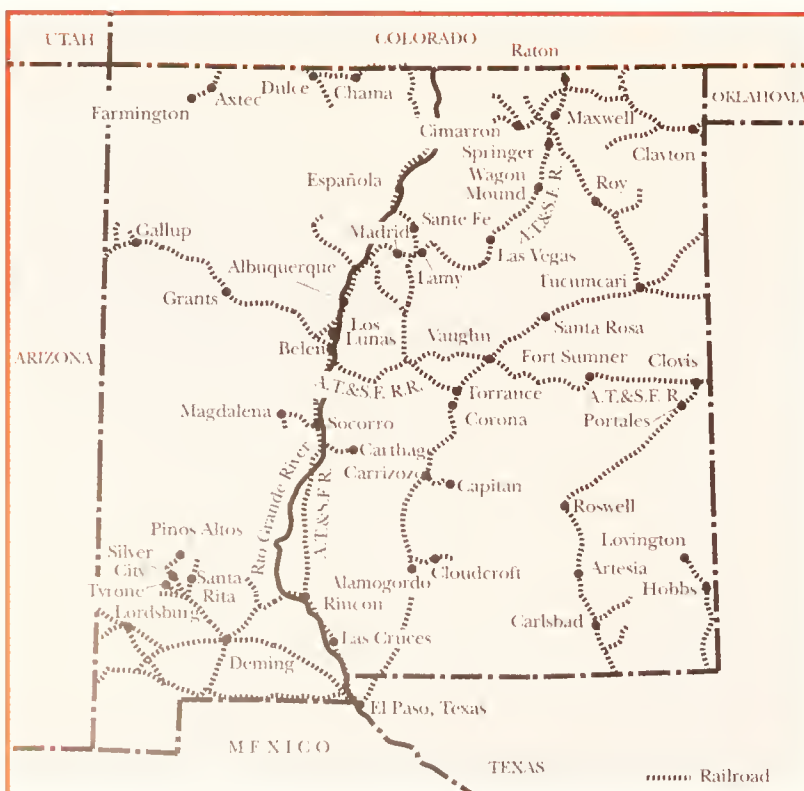
More than 30 years before New Mexico became a state in 1912, its territorial Bureau of Immigration writers touted the life-giving and healing properties of New Mexico's natural hot springs. The mineral waters combined with the "miracle of sun and air" led "lungers" and "hackers," as tubercular patients were called, to follow the railroads to New Mexico's spas, sanitoriums, hospitals and resorts in the 1880s. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway had signed a contract in 1878 with Frederick Henry Harvey, who later became known as the "Civilizer of the West," to operate their restaurants, dining cars and hotels.

Fred Harvey, who "introduced America to Americans," had a genius for merchandizing culture. Hotels in the Harvey system, designed by prominent architects like Mary Colter and John

Gaw Meem, were named after Spanish explorers and were calculated to "create the romantic atmosphere of old Spain." Harvey provided flawless service and elegant meals, and he created the Harvey girls — moral, attractive, and intelligent young waitresses who were rigorously trained and strictly chaperoned. He insisted upon dress codes and decorum in all his establishments.

The Harvey organization sold traditional and newly redesigned Indian arts and crafts to tourists. Anthropologists were employed to instruct women guides dressed as Navajos and drivers dressed as cowboys, to conduct the Indian Detours, motorcar adventures "off the beaten path."

The Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company reshaped the alien Southwest to make it glow with the antiquity and cultural significance of Egypt, Rome or Greece. They invested traditional art with the craftsmanship of the European Renaissance. And they re-created the heroism of the Santa Fe Trail, with Harvey "cowboys" escorting tourists into the "hinterlands." They packaged and publicized what previously had been local, traditional and often circumspect Native and folk cultures.



Peter White is associate professor of English at the University of New Mexico. He is the author, with Marta Weigle, of The Lore of New Mexico.

Cultural Tourism and Self-Representation

Ted Jojola

Since the advent of “leisure” as a class activity, New Mexico has been a focus of the itinerant sightseer. “See America First” and the “Southwest Wonder Land” were clichés which resounded in the introductory chapter of *Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo*, a 1925 travel book, written by an adventurer, Charles Fletcher Lummis. The phrases aptly summarized an epoch of early New Mexico tourism and image-building.

Paramount in such imagery were the many American Indian communities that inhabit the region. Although the cultures of the Apache, Navajo and Pueblo peoples are rich and distinctive, outsiders ultimately formulated their own images of American Indians. The dominant Indian stereotype became the war bonneted, face-painted and buckskin-clad “chief,” an image popularized by the paintings commissioned by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway in the 1900s. The penetration of this popular stereotype into the Southwest mystified outsiders’ understanding of the local cultures. A Southwest Indian myth was invented, as New Mexico also became populated with benign rattlesnakes, howling coyotes, Indian chiefs and desperados.

Curiously, in this period there were two distinctive but often parallel aspects of “Indian” image-making. One was promulgated by social scientists in the fields of anthropology, ethnography and history. The other was developed by entrepreneurs of the tourism and film industries. Among social scientists, New Mexico became a “living laboratory.” Among entrepreneurs, New Mexico became a “living backdrop.” In both instances, the representations were devised by outsiders whose interests were served by the affirmation of a primitive and exotic human landscape. They drew on their own preconceptions and prejudged experiences to selectively appro-

priate elements of the “Indian.” The resulting image was a subjective interpretation that merely corroborated the outsider’s viewpoint. This process of revisionism more often than not entailed remaking American Indians apart and separate from their own historical and community realities.

The impact of revisionism among American Indians themselves in New Mexico was appreciable. Many Natives catered exclusively to the “Indian Chief” image and, for years, social scientists voiced their concerns about the disappear-



Tourists purchase wares under a portal in Santa Fe.
Photo by Henry Grasso

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Santa Clara Eagle Dancers are ringed by spectators and Harvey cars, ca. 1928. *Photo courtesy Museum of New Mexico*

ance of Native traditions and culture. The Southwest Indian mystification has become so pervasive that an average tourist expects the word “authentic” to indicate that the Native people have used prehistoric techniques to produce their wares.

On the other hand, New Mexico has a complex pluralistic human settlement history characterized by subtle transformations and by the constant adaptation of new cultural traditions among distinct communities. Many of these transformations have emerged from the interaction of diverse Anglo, Hispanic and American Indian communities. The abilities of various communities to adapt creatively to outside traditions has been largely ignored or understated.

These distortions in representation, in the context of Indians’ growing empowerment, has created a challenging issue in New Mexico today: how will tribes themselves regulate their own tourist enterprises, should they choose to do so. This is a relatively new question resulting partially from an attempt by tribal governments to diversify their economies. Both the Pueblos of Zuni and Pojoaque have begun planning for the

development and construction of tribal museums. In addition, cultural programming for a number of new museums across the United States, including the Smithsonian’s new National Museum of the American Indian, causes many tribes to rethink their images.

The central question that remains is whether American Indian communities will defer to the same revisionist images that have been ascribed by the outside. As “insiders,” how much cultural information will they be willing to divulge, and for what reasons? How will they “revise” their own image, while coping with some of the same issues of representation that confront museum curators today? Will they allow communities to continue to be “living museums” or will they choose to stage pageants and reenactments designed to shroud their real community presence and deflect tourism away from their private lives? By addressing these and other important questions, they will undoubtedly be able to demystify the Indian mystique and contribute to the revision of the prevailing stereotypes of the Southwest Indian.

Language and Storytelling

José Griego

Language reflects the history of a culture and the languages of New Mexico reflect a combination of many people's customs, values and stories. Although English is the official language of public institutions in New Mexico, many New Mexicans are bilingual and in some cases multilingual. Hispanic leaders assured the continuation of and respect for their language by making a provision mandating bilingual education in the State Constitution. But Spanish, English and even the Athapascan languages of the Navajo and Apache are relatively new accents and tonalities carried on the high desert winds of New Mexico. The Pueblo Indian descendants of the ancient Anasazi who have inhabited this land for approximately 35,000 years tell their stories in Tewa, Tiwa, Towa, Keres and Zuni.

These cultures often borrowed vocabulary from each other, creating new dialects of their respective languages. The English language of the Southwest uses many Spanish words for ranching terms that newly arrived Anglo settlers learned from Hispanic neighbors. Lariat (*la reata*), chaps (*chaparreras*), hackamore (*jáquima*), mustang (*mesteño*) and many others came from Spanish words with the same meaning. Aztec culture had a very strong impact on the Spanish language of Mexico and New Mexico as many words, especially names of animals, were incorporated from the Nahuatl language — *zopilote* (buzzard), *helote* (ear of corn), *hololote* (corn husk), *tecolote* (owl) and *coyote*, to name a few. Some Tewa words in New Mexican Spanish include *teguas* (moccasins), *chaquegüe* (blue corn meal mush), *chacuaco* (cigarette), *chanate* (coffee). The Tiwa language adopted many Spanish terms, especially for new products and introduced customs, e.g., *manzana'a* (apple), *pera'a*

(pear), *compa'e* (Godfather). Many English words are also used in New Mexican Spanish, especially words connected with modern technology, e.g., *brecas* (brakes), *parquear* (to park) and *clocha* (clutch).

Language plays an important part in preserving traditions, especially in storytelling on the long winter nights that lend themselves to meditation and imagination. In a huddle around the fireplace, as the children get ready for sleep, elders hand down stories they heard of the origin and survival of their families in this land. Their stories mix legends from other cultures and tell of encounters with these peoples and customs. Pueblo elders recount the mythical origins of the ancient Anasazi with such stories as the giant serpent that devoured the village of Jemez, or the spirit of the Spider woman that resides in the Sandia Mountains. Juan Rael collected and published hundreds of Hispanic stories (Rael 1955) that recall medieval adventures of kings, queens and princesses, as well as accounts of Hispanic New Mexicans' first awkward contacts with newcomers after a virtually complete isolation from the rest of the world for three centuries.

The dialects of New Mexico can be heard, I tell you, as three viejitos recline against a warm adobe portal wall to enjoy the *resolana*. As they light up a *chacuaco* of Prince Albert tobacco mixed with anise seed and sip on a cup of *chanate* or *chaquegüe*, they observe and joke about the customs of the *turistas*. Tío Abenicio in faded overalls, drives up in his Ford tractor to join the daily ritual of *comraderie* and *mitote*.*

Citation

Rael, Juan. 1955. *Cuentos de Nuevo Mexico y el Sur de Colorado*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press.

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* viejitos = old ones; adobe portal = porch of earthen brick; *resolana* = the warmth of the sun; *chanate* = coffee; *chacuaco* = cigarette; *chaquegüe* = blue corn meal mush; *turistas* = tourists; Tío = uncle; *mitote* = gossip.

Creativity and Resistance: Maroon Culture in the Americas

Kenneth Bilby and Diana Baird N'Diaye

In 1739, more than 40 years before the United States won its war of independence with Britain, the British government, then among the most powerful in the world, concluded two peace treaties on the island of Jamaica. Those with whom the British treated were neither European generals nor Native American chieftains. They were, rather, enslaved Africans who had managed to escape plantations and form new societies in the wilderness. For nearly a century, these escaped slaves had waged a devastating war against the colonists from their strongholds in the Jamaican hills. Unable to defeat them, the British were forced to propose treaties recognizing the freedom that their former slaves had already seized, and granting them land and partial political autonomy.

The Jamaican treaties were not the first of their kind. Similar pacts had been made, for example, between colonial governments and communities of escaped slaves in Hispaniola, Panama, Venezuela and Ecuador during the 16th century and in Mexico, Colombia and Brazil during the 17th century. Yet other treaties were to follow the Jamaican ones, such as those made in Dutch Guiana during the 18th century.

The story of the maroons — as those who fled from bondage and their descendants became known — does not begin with these colonial treaties, but goes back to the very earliest days of European settlement and slavery in the Americas. In 1502, a mere 10 years after Columbus' first voyage, the first known African

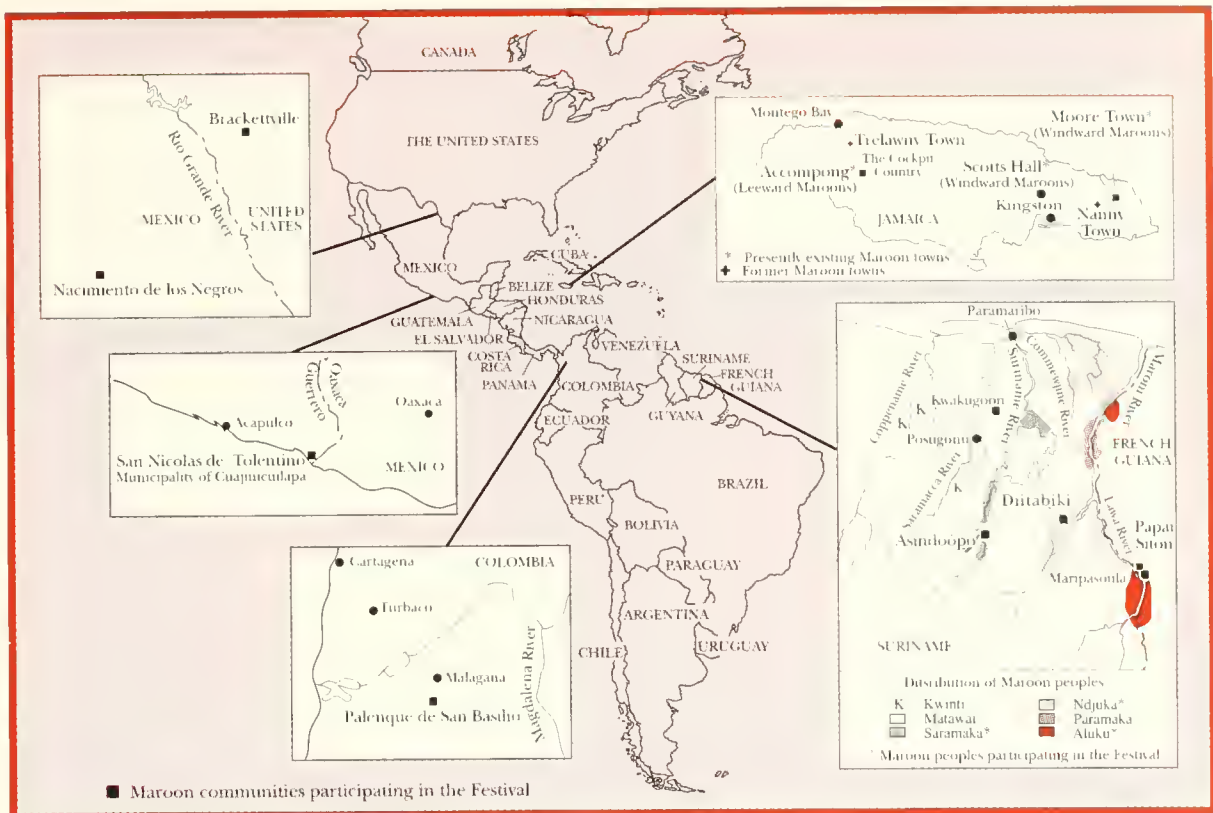
maroon escaped his captors and fled into the interior of the island of Hispaniola. No one can say with certainty when the first maroon community in the Americas was established, although there exists a written document confirming that by the early 1500s a settlement of escaped African slaves had already formed on Samaná, an island off the northeastern coast of Hispaniola (Price 1979: 119).

Over the next three and a half centuries, hundreds more such maroon communities were to emerge throughout the Americas, as slaves took their chances and broke away from the mines and plantations of the European colonizers in a bid for freedom and independence. Their exact numbers will never be known. The societies they created ranged in size from small bands of 10 or 20 people to powerful kingdoms with thousands of members, such as Palmares in Brazil, which spanned more than 1,000 square miles.

No colony in the Western Hemisphere, no slaveholding area, was immune to the growth of such alternative maroon societies. Wherever large expanses of inaccessible and uninhabited terrain permitted, as in the vast Guianese rainforest or the mountainous Jamaican interior, these communities proliferated. Even in the British North American colonies, and later the United States, where unoccupied yet habitable spaces were not as plentiful, more than 50 maroon settlements are known to have come into being between 1672 and 1864. We have no way of estimating how many others may have escaped the notice of historians.

In many ways the maroon experience is emblematic of broader processes that helped shape the Western Hemisphere. Not only were maroons in the forefront of resistance to slavery, they were among the first pioneers to explore and adapt to the more remote, unsettled spaces

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in both American continents and the Caribbean. Maroons were among the first Americans in the wake of 1492 to resist colonial domination, striving for independence, forging new cultures and identities, and developing solidarity out of diversity — processes which only later took place, on a much larger scale, in emerging nation-states. In the French colony of Saint-Domingue, maroons helped to launch the Haitian Revolution, which gave birth to one of the first independent republics in the Americas in 1804.

Although there is a large and growing body of scholarly writing about maroons based on solid archival research, relatively few people

today are aware that such communities ever existed. Few history books used in schools in the United States give attention to the societies and cultures that maroons successfully built away from the plantations. It is thus particularly appropriate in this Colombian Quincentenary year to celebrate the histories and cultures of maroons, whose heritage of creativity and resistance has been so much a part of the post-Columbian American landscape.

Contemporary Maroons

Although many withstood military assaults for years, most maroon communities were eventually destroyed by colonial troops, who usually outnumbered them and were much better armed. After the abolition of slavery, many maroon groups were assimilated into the larger societies that surrounded them. Of the hundreds of such communities once spread across the hemisphere, only a few still exist. Present-day Maroon* peoples include the Saramaka, Ndjuka, Paramaka, Matakwa and Kwinti of Suriname; the

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*The authors have chosen to spell "maroon" in lower case when it is used in its original descriptive sense, synonymous with 'escaped slave'. It is capitalized only when used generically to refer to contemporary peoples or ethnic groups.



An Aluku woman in Asisi, French Guiana, bakes cassava cakes (*baka kasaba*). Maroons originally learned this method of food preparation from Native Americans. Photo by Diana Baird N'Diaye

Aluku of French Guiana; the Palenqueros of Colombia; the Windward and Leeward Maroons of Jamaica; the Garifuna of the Atlantic coast of Central America; the Maroons of the Costa Chica region in Mexico; and the Seminole Maroons of Texas, Oklahoma, Mexico and the Bahamas.

Eight contemporary Maroon peoples from six different countries will participate in the Festival in this Quincentenary year. Three of these peoples come from the Amazon basin in north-eastern South America. The ancestors of the Saramaka began escaping from Surinamese plantations in the late 17th century; after fighting against the Dutch for nearly a century, they made a treaty with them in 1762. Today the Saramaka live along the Suriname River in the interior rainforest of Suriname. Their neighbors, the Ndjuka or Okanisi (Aukaners), inhabit the Tapanahony and Cottica rivers to the east. The ancestors of the Ndjuka, who began fleeing from Dutch plantations in the early 18th century, made a treaty with the Dutch in 1760. Across the Maroni and Lawa rivers in French Guiana live the Aluku or Boni, whose forebears began leaving the plantations shortly after the Ndjuka. In 1776-7 they crossed from Suriname into French Guiana, where they have lived ever since. After

years of struggle, their freedom was recognized by a joint treaty with the French and Dutch in 1860.

The South American country of Colombia is home to the contemporary Maroon community of Palenque de San Basilio, not far from the port of Cartagena, which was once at the center of the Spanish slave trade. The Palenqueros are descended from slaves who escaped from Spanish plantations during the 17th century. After several failed attempts to eradicate them, the colonial government and the ancestors of the Palenqueros came to terms between 1713 and 1717.

In the Caribbean island of Jamaica are some of the best known contemporary Maroon communities. The Windward Maroons are based in the villages of Moore Town, Scotts Hall and Charles Town in the eastern Blue Mountains. They can trace their origins as a people back to 1655, when the British seized the island from the Spanish, and a large number of slaves fled into the hills. In later years these initial runaways were joined by others from British plantations. The ancestors of the Leeward Maroons, whose main contemporary settlement is Accompong in the western Cockpit Country, began to escape from plantations in the late 17th century. By the

1730s, both groups posed such a threat to the plantation system that the British colonial government had to sue for peace, concluding separate treaties with the two groups in 1739.

The Maroons of the Costa Chica area in the Mexican states of Guerrero and Oaxaca are descendants of slaves who began escaping in the late 16th century from Spanish cattle ranches and estates along the Pacific coast. When the colonial government launched a military campaign against them, they retreated into more inaccessible areas, where they remained undefeated until the abolition of slavery in Mexico in 1829.

The Seminole Maroons, now divided among Oklahoma, Texas, the Bahamas and the northern Mexican state of Coahuila, originated in Spanish Florida, where groups of escaped slaves from South Carolina and Georgia began seeking refuge in the early 18th century. Though they developed a close alliance with those Native American groups who came to be known as Seminole Indians, these maroons maintained a separate identity. After the end of the Seminole War in 1842, they were transported along with their Indian allies to Oklahoma. To avoid raids by slave-catchers, a portion of the Seminole Maroons moved to Mexico, where their descendants, known as *Negros Mascogos*, remain today. During the mid-19th century, some of these Mexican Seminoles moved to Texas, where they joined the U.S. Cavalry as part of a special division known as the Seminole Negro Indian Scouts. Their descendants live today in Brackettville and Del Rio, Texas.

Adaptation and Survival in a New World

It is difficult for us today to imagine the challenges faced by the earliest maroons. Runaways who banded together usually came from several different parts of Africa, and thus were divided by differences of culture and language. They found themselves in new and largely unfamiliar environments, in constant danger of recapture. Sudden attack by colonial troops remained a permanent possibility. Developing means of subsistence and defense were the primary demands of this new world.

But the struggle for survival was not limited to learning how to live off the land or fend off invaders. In fact, it required the creation of whole new societies, cultures and languages. In forming new maroon communities, culturally diverse people were drawn into a complex process of adaptation. They were obliged to

adapt not only to the natural environment, but to one another's different ways of speaking, working, praying, governing, staking claims, making music, courting, marrying, giving birth, bequeathing and dying.

In devising methods of subsistence, military strategies, systems of authority and shared languages, maroons typically selected from the full range of cultural resources available to them — African, Native American and European. The breadth of this spectrum of resources improved their chances for survival.

The legacy of this process of cultural exchange and adaptation is clearly discernible among contemporary Maroons. Among the Ndjuka and Aluku of Suriname and French Guiana, for instance, both the primary staple, cassava, and the methods used to prepare it are of Native American derivation, as is much of the technology they rely on for hunting, fishing and cultivation. Similarly, two popular dishes prepared by Seminole Maroons in Texas and Oklahoma, *vuffki* and *toli*, were learned from Native Americans. In Jamaica and Suriname, on the other hand, contemporary Maroon foodways often show a pronounced African influence. Palenqueros in Colombia, Windward and Leeward Maroons in Jamaica and Surinamese Maroons employ many different types of animal, fish and bird traps of varied origin — African, Native American and European. Traditions of herbal medicine, for which contemporary Maroons everywhere are renowned, also reflect all three sources.

The music, dance, verbal arts and spiritual traditions of contemporary Maroon peoples, however, are predominantly African in origin. But even here there are exceptions. The Aluku of French Guiana, for example, honor their dead with certain songs and dances said to have been learned long ago from Native Americans with whom their ancestors shared the Guianese rainforest, while the Seminole Maroons of Texas have an American Indian-style dance called the Seminole Stomp. In contrast, the creole languages spoken by contemporary Maroons have vocabularies primarily of European origin, though they contain substantial numbers of African and Native American words as well. At a deeper level, the sound patterns and certain stylistic features of these languages clearly reflect the influence of African languages.

Even those contemporary Maroon cultural traditions that are most recognizably of African origin — those that are devoid of European or

Native American influence — are outcomes of a process that long ago blended diverse elements from a variety of different African cultures. For this reason, the cultures of Maroons today are best understood as creative syntheses that have combined and recombined originally diverse African elements, as well as non-African elements, in unique ways. This historical process of blending and adaptation, resulting in cultures that are simultaneously old and new, has come to be known as “creolization.” Creolization has occurred widely in the Americas over the last 500 years and continues to lend our multicultural hemisphere much of its cultural vitality. For the ancestors of the Maroons, this creolizing process was part and parcel of the struggle for survival on the fringes of the plantation world. As such, it was itself part of the process of resistance.

Self Determination: Traditions of Government

Creating new societies away from the plantations could not be achieved through cultural creolization alone. In order to survive, early maroon groups needed to devise ways of regulating social and economic life. Rights and obligations toward neighbors and kin, mechanisms for dispute settlement and rules of leadership, succession, ownership, marriage and inheritance all had to be established. Free to experiment, maroons succeeded in developing a range of political systems that effectively fulfilled these needs.

In the early days, political organization was frequently shaped by military considerations. Strong and able leadership, often backed by religious sanctions, helped to ensure survival in societies under siege. Among the early maroon leaders who achieved fame for their exceptional qualities were Bavano of Panama, Yanga of Mexico, Ganga Zumba of Brazil, Benkos Bioho of Colombia, Nanny and Kojo of Jamaica, Boni of Suriname and John Horse (also known as Juan Caballo or Gopher John) of the southern United States and Mexico.

In later years, the treaties many groups made with colonial governments led to a gradual erosion of autonomy. Nonetheless, some Maroon societies maintain distinct political systems stemming from the early days. Surinamese and French Guianese Maroons, for instance, are headed by paramount chiefs known as *Gaana* or *Gaanman*, who are installed with great ceremony and hold office for life. The office of paramount chief is vested with a great deal of authority, and its occupant is treated with great respect. Assist-

ing these tribal chiefs are a large number of village chiefs (*Kabiteni*), under-officers (*Basia*), and councils in which elders play a leading role.

Public issues are discussed and debated, and cases tried and judged, in the context of formal meetings known as *kuutu*. The more serious *kuutu* are presided over by chiefs and prominent elders. *Kuutu* oratory is always interactive and highly stylized, performed as an antiphonal exchange between a series of speakers and a formal interlocutor known as *pikiman* (literally, “the man who answers”). Governed by a complex etiquette, and characterized by indirection, digression and metaphor, oratory is easily distinguishable from ordinary speech.

Kuutu may be spontaneous meetings of four or five family members who come together to iron out a domestic problem; or they may be carefully planned gatherings in which the paramount chief and all the village chiefs assemble to discuss issues affecting the entire society. Well adapted to highly fluid social circumstances, such as those in which the early ancestors lived, the *kuutu* tradition continues to serve Surinamese Maroons admirably today.

Jamaican Maroons also maintain their own special system of local government. The Windward Maroon community of Moore Town, for example, is led by an elected chief bearing the title *Colonel*, who works together with under-officers and an appointed council known as the *Kamati* (Committee). Disputes between individuals over sections of communally-held Maroon lands — and a host of other relatively minor problems — are aired and resolved in the context of committee meetings. Issues that concern the entire community, on the other hand, require larger gatherings called “Township Meetings,” to which the general public is summoned by blowing the *abeng*, a West African signaling device made from a cow’s horn.

This year’s Festival is honored by the presence of several Maroon leaders, including paramount chiefs from Suriname and French Guiana, and Maroon Colonels from Jamaica. These distinguished representatives carry on the proud traditions of self government established and maintained over the generations by their predecessors. During this Quincentenary year, they will have the opportunity to meet one another for the first time.

Maroon Arts

In spite of the grim struggle for survival that was part of everyday life in the early days,

Maroons were able to create vibrant, distinctive and diverse artistic traditions. These expressive forms — music, dance, verbal arts, foodways, crafts, architecture, personal adornment, and others — drew upon the Maroons' African heritage as well as Native American and European resources, but emerged as something new and unique.

The very existence of these remarkable Maroon arts demonstrates that even peoples under siege have been able to produce great beauty. They have been able to remain deeply concerned about human intangibles, such as aesthetic expression, upon which the quality of life depends. To paraphrase a song composed by Wailing Roots, a reggae band formed by young Aluku Maroons in French Guiana: "We were slaves and we cried tears of blood, but [the Aluku leader] Boni led our ancestors out of captivity so we could enjoy life."

History and Maroon Identity in the Present

Contemporary Maroon peoples' identities are rooted in memories of the collective struggles from which their societies emerged. In most Maroon communities, a profound sense of history pervades present-day life.

Among the Accompong Maroons of Jamaica, for example, celebrations are held every January honoring the great Maroon leader, Kojo, who signed the treaty with the British in 1739. Attended by thousands of visitors, this annual event centers on old Maroon songs, dances and ceremonies passed down from the ancestors. The following song speaks of the Maroons' continuing tradition of self government:

Law hold-oh!
Maroon law hold already-eh
Long taiga wallo
Law hold-oh

Law hold already-oh
Come give me me note a hand-eh
Long taiga wallo
Law hold-oh

The Maroons' own laws still hold, the song asserts, and their right to govern themselves forever has been ratified in writing (to which the "note" in the song refers).

Likewise, the Moore Town Maroons commemorate their famous ancestress and spiritual leader, Nanny, with a festival every October. As part of the ceremony, Maroon men sometimes



A Jamaican Maroon from Accompong Town plays the *gumbé* drum during the annual January 6 celebration in honor of the Maroon hero Kojo. Photo by Vivien Chen

conceal themselves from head to toe in the leafy vine known as cacoon. This ingenious camouflage, which Maroons call "ambush," was used by the ancestors during their battles against the British more than two centuries ago. Every autumn in Brackettville, Texas, the Seminole Maroons gather to hold a memorial service at the graves of their ancestors and to celebrate Seminole Day with stories and foodways passed down over the generations.

In most contemporary Maroon communities, oral historians remain an important source of knowledge about the past. In Suriname, Jamaica and elsewhere, narratives about "first-time" — the early days of flight and struggle — are told with great emotion and circumspection, and only in certain contexts. While a portion of this cherished historical knowledge may be shared with outsiders, much of it is held sacred and kept secret.

For Maroons everywhere, history is a cause for great pride, a foundation of collective identity and a source of strength and confidence as they face the future. Although their histories dif-



Members of the Aluku Maroon reggae band, Wailing Roots, prepare for a news broadcast at Studio T.R.M., an Aluku-run television station in Maripasoula, French Guiana. Photo by Diana Baird N'Diaye

ter, they all speak eloquently of the heritage of creativity and resistance that is as important a part of this hemisphere's experience as the tidal wave of greed, destruction and oppression that followed Columbus' first landing.

Maroon Identity in the 1990s and Beyond

Maroon communities no longer face the same challenges that confronted them during their formation. Slavery is gone, but nowadays there are new challenges. Though different in character from the old, they nevertheless threaten the survival of Maroon communities as distinct groups with unique identities. Maroon villages are no longer as isolated as they once were. In some places roads have been built where none existed before; in others, new modes of transportation, such as airplanes and canoes with outboard motors, have made Maroon communities more accessible. External pressures ranging from civil wars to government welfare programs erode and threaten to undermine the freedom and autonomy that Maroons fought so hard to win. A growing number of young people are migrating out of their communities to urban centers. Those who stay know less and less about the traditions of their ancestors. Maroon ways

must now compete with the allure of the world of outsiders for the attention of the young. Pollution impinges on the natural environments in which Maroons live.

Governments have changed hands since the original Maroon treaties were made. Ironically, the ending of colonial rule has left Maroon communities with treaties that remain sacrosanct to them, but which present governments may find anachronistic (Kopytoff 1979). The ambiguous status of these treaties has placed Maroon communities in a vulnerable position. It has threatened the systems of communal land tenure maintained by several communities, and in some cases has compromised the authority of their leaders.

Relationships between Maroons who have left their communities of origin to reside permanently in the cities and those who have stayed home are often ambiguous and sometimes strained. The unique languages, bodies of knowledge and skills that are integral to Maroon identity and culture are in danger of not being passed on, and in some cases threaten to disappear within one or two generations.

In the face of these challenges, Maroons have applied their ancestors' spirit of creativity

and resistance in new ways to meet modern circumstances. Elected Aluku officials in the French overseas department of French Guiana struggle to accommodate a foreign system of government to their own. Meanwhile, they participate in conferences with Native American peoples of the region to examine whether and how their systems of traditional law can continue to co-exist with French law. Young Ndjukas living in the coastal Surinamese capital of Paramaribo have formed social and cultural self-help organizations such as Kifoko to promote pride in their own heritage, and have begun to preserve and document their own cultural traditions. Community historians among the Texas Seminole are becoming curators and documenters of their own heritage and are making sure that it is represented in broader celebrations of African-American history and culture. Jamaican Maroon leaders in Moore Town and Accompong are working to educate and encourage younger Maroons in the traditions that are their birthright. These elders are also investigating ways of developing a sensitive and respectful type of cultural tourism that would provide employment for their children and might encourage them to remain in their home communities.

Though the challenges that faced the earliest ancestors were of a different kind, similar questions — of adaptation and survival, self-determination and identity, and innovation and continuity — are very much alive for their descendants. In the closing years of the 20th century, these questions remain as much a part of Maroon existence as they were nearly 500 years ago when the courageous ancestors of these people first began to fight for the right to remain their own masters.

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Maroons:

Rebel Slaves in the Americas

Richard Price

The man who was to become the first African-American maroon arrived within a decade of Columbus' landfall on the very first slave ship to reach the Americas. One of the last maroons to escape from slavery was still alive in Cuba only 15 years ago. The English word "maroon" derives from Spanish *cimarrón* — itself based on an Arawakan (Taino) Indian root. *Cimarrón* originally referred to domestic cattle that had taken to the hills in Hispaniola, and soon after it was applied to American Indian slaves who had escaped from the Spaniards as well. By the end of the 1530s, the word had taken on strong connotations of being "fierce," "wild" and "unbroken," and was used primarily to refer to African-American runaways.

For more than four centuries, the communities formed by such escaped slaves dotted the fringes of plantation America, from Brazil to the southeastern United States, from Peru to the American Southwest. Known variously as *palenques*, *quilombos*, *mocambos*, *cumbes*, *mambises*, or *ladradas*, these new societies ranged from tiny bands that survived less than a year to powerful states encompassing thousands of members that survived for generations and even centuries. Today their descendants still form semi-independent enclaves in several parts of the hemisphere — for example, in Suriname, French Guiana, Jamaica, Colombia and Belize — fiercely proud of their maroon origins and, in some cases at least, faithful to unique cultural traditions that were forged during the earliest days of African-American history.

During the past several decades, historical

scholarship has done much to dispel the myth of the docile slave. The extent of violent resistance to enslavement has been documented rather fully — from the revolts in the slave factories of West Africa and mutinies during the Middle Passage to the organized rebellions that began to sweep most colonies within a decade after the arrival of the first slave ships. There is also a growing literature on the pervasiveness of various forms of "day-to-day" resistance — from simple malingering to subtle but systematic acts of sabotage.

Maroons and their communities can be seen to hold a special significance for the study of slave societies, for they were both the antithesis of all that slavery stood for, and at the same time a widespread and embarrassingly visible part of these systems. The very nature of plantation slavery engendered violence and resistance, and the wilderness setting of early New World plantations allowed marronage and the ubiquitous existence of organized maroon communities. Throughout Afro-America, such communities stood out as an heroic challenge to white authority, and as living proof of a slave consciousness that refused to be limited by the whites' definition and manipulation of it.

Within the first decade of most colonies' existence, the most brutal punishments had already been inflicted on recaptured rebel slaves, and in many cases these were quickly written into law. An early 18th-century visitor to Suriname reported that

if a slave runs away into the forest in order to avoid work for a few weeks, upon his being captured his Achilles tendon is removed for the first offence, while for a second offence... his right leg is amputated in order to stop his running away; I myself was a witness to slaves being punished this way.

And similar punishments for marronage —

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This engraving from ca. 1786 depicts peace negotiations between Maroons and British soldiers on the Caribbean island of St. Vincent in 1773. These Maroons were ancestors of the Garifuna people who live today along the Atlantic coastline of Central America. Engraving from an original painting by Agostino Brunias; courtesy National Library of Jamaica

from being castrated to being slowly roasted to death — are reported from different regions throughout the Americas.

Marronage on the grand scale, with individual fugitives banding together to create independent communities of their own, struck directly at the foundations of the plantation system. It presented military and economic threats that often strained the colonies to their very limits. In a remarkable number of cases throughout the Americas, whites were forced to appeal to their former slaves for a peace agreement. In their typical form, such treaties — which we know of from Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Hispaniola, Jamaica, Mexico and Suriname — offered maroon communities their freedom, recognized their territorial integrity, and made some provision for meeting their economic needs. In return, the treaties required maroons to end all hostilities toward the plantations, to return all future runaways, and, often, to aid the whites in hunting them down. Of course, many maroon societies never reached this negotiating stage, having been crushed by massive force of arms; and even when treaties were proposed they were sometimes refused or quickly violated. Nevertheless, new maroon communities seemed to appear almost as quickly as the old ones were exterminated, and they remained, from a colonial perspective, the “chronic plague” and “gangrene” of many plantation societies right up to final Emancipation.

To be viable, maroon communities had to be inaccessible, and villages were typically located in remote, inhospitable areas. In the southern United States, isolated swamps were a favorite setting. In Jamaica, some of the most famous maroon groups lived in “cockpit country,” where deep canyons and limestone sinkholes abound



but water and good soil are scarce. And in the Guianas, seemingly impenetrable jungles provided maroons a safe haven.

Many maroons throughout the hemisphere developed extraordinary skills in guerrilla warfare. To the bewilderment of their colonial enemies, whose rigid and conventional tactics were learned on the open battlefields of Europe, these highly adaptable and mobile warriors took maximum advantage of local environments. They struck and withdrew with great rapidity, making extensive use of ambushes to catch their adversaries in crossfire. They fought only when and where they chose, relying on trustworthy intelligence networks among non-maroons (both slaves and white settlers), and often communicating military information by drums and horns.

The initial maroons in any New World colony hailed from a wide range of societies in West and Central Africa; at the outset, they shared neither language nor other major aspects of culture. Their collective task was nothing less than to create new communities and institutions, via a process of integrating cultural elements drawn largely from a variety of African societies.

Those scholars who have most closely examined contemporary Maroon life agree that these societies are often uncannily “African” in feeling but at the same time largely devoid of directly transplanted systems. However “African” in character, no maroon social, political, religious, or aesthetic system can be reliably traced to a specific African ethnic group. They reveal rather their syncretistic composition: they were forged by peoples bearing diverse African, European and Amerindian cultures who met in the dynamic setting of the New World.

The political system of the great 17th-century Brazilian maroon community of Palmares, for example, which R.K. Kent has characterized as an “African” state, “did not derive from a *particular* central African model, but from several.” In the development of the kinship system of the Ndjuka Maroons of Suriname, writes André Köbben, “undoubtedly their West-African heritage played a part ... [and] the influence of the matrilineal Akan tribes is unmistakable, but so is that of patrilineal tribes ... [and there are] significant differences between the Akan and Ndjuka matrilineal systems.” Historical research has revealed that the woodcarving of the Suriname Maroons, long considered “an African art in the Americas” on the basis of many formal resemblances, is (in the words of Jean Hurault) in fact a fundamentally new, African-American art “for which it would be pointless to seek the origin through direct transmission of any particular African style.” And detailed historical investigations — both in museums and in the field — of a range of cultural phenomena among the Saramaka Maroons of Suriname have confirmed the continuing existence of dynamic, creative processes that inspire these societies.

Maroon cultures do possess a remarkable number of direct and sometimes spectacular continuities from particular African peoples, ranging from military techniques for defense to formulas for warding off sorcery. But these are of the same type as those that can be found, albeit less frequently, in African-American communities throughout the hemisphere. And

stressing these isolated African “retentions” may neglect cultural continuities of a far more significant kind. Roger Bastide divided Afro-American religions into those he considered “preserved” or “canned” — like Brazilian *candomblé* — and those that he considered “alive” or “living” — like Haitian *vaudou*. The former, he argued, represent a kind of “defense mechanism” or “cultural fossilization,” a fear that any small change may bring on the end; the latter are more secure of their future and freer to adapt to the changing needs of their adherents. More generally, tenacious fidelity to “African” forms can be shown to be in many cases an indication of a culture that has finally lost touch with a meaningful part of its African past. Certainly, one of the most striking features of West and Central African cultural systems is their internal dynamism, their ability to grow and change. The cultural uniqueness of the more developed maroon societies (e.g., those in Suriname) rests firmly on their fidelity to “African” cultural principles at these deeper levels — whether aesthetic, political, or domestic — rather than on the frequency of their isolated “retentions” of form.

Maroon groups had a rare freedom to develop and transform African ideas from a variety of societies and to adapt them to changing circumstance. With their hard-earned freedom and resilient creativity they have built systems that are *at once* meaningfully African and among the most truly “alive” and culturally dynamic of African-American cultures.

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The Political Organization of Maroon Communities in Suriname

H.R.M. Libretto

Translated from Dutch by Kenneth Bilby

Maroons are descendants of Africans forced to labor on plantations who escaped and, by waging guerilla wars in the 17th and 18th centuries, succeeded in forming relatively independent tribes* in the interior. After signing treaties with the colonial rulers, the Maroons, also known as Bush Negroes, were able to build societies undisturbed, drawing upon their African heritage.

The number of Maroons living in tribal societies is presently estimated at 45,000, divided among the following tribes:

1. Saramaka (Saamaka)
2. Aukaners (Ndjuka or Okanisi)
3. Matuwari (Matawai)
4. Paramaka (Paamaka)
5. Aluku or Boni

The tribes took their names from the regions where they initially settled or from the name of a chief. The territory of each tribe is bounded by mountains, rivers, watersheds and forests.

The tribes are comprised of subtribes (matrilineal clans or *lo*) that have established one or more villages. The persons of a subtribe feel bound together through ties of kinship and community history that go back to the formative period of marronage.

In that period of warfare certain persons emerged as leaders with military qualities. The chief or *Gaanman* of a tribe would originate from the military leader's subtribe. Among the Saramaka, this is the Matjau clan, and among the Ndjuka, the Oto clan.

The colonial treaties, which still form the

basis of the relationship between the central government and the traditional Maroon authorities, stipulated that the Maroons could move freely in the area they then occupied. They were, however, without legal title to the land. The territory of a tribe forms a unitary expanse of land, but is usually situated along a number of river basins.

Although it is certain that not all Maroons had matrilineal origins, a system of matrilineal descent is practiced generally.

In each tribe, the government consists of the following:

1. A tribal or paramount chief (*Gaanman*, *Gaamá*)
2. A number of head chiefs (*Ede Kabiteni*)
3. A number of village chiefs (*Kabiteni*)
4. A number of male and female under-officers (*Basia*)

The designation and installation of these officials takes place according to Maroon tradition.

After installation, each official, upon recommendation, is appointed by the Surinamese government. He or she then becomes eligible for an allowance, an official uniform, and a variety of other compensations.

The Gaanman (Paramount Chief)

The Gaanman, an individual who stands for his entire tribe, exclusively controls relations with the central government and thus represents the tribe externally. The tribal chief nominates lower officials for appointment by the government. He is the head of a tribal assembly. Because of the importance of his role, the Gaan-

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* Editor's note: As this essay illustrates, the word "tribe" implies an administrative unit. It specifies the corporateness of a group — the rights and duties of the members of the group as a whole — from a governmental point of view. Tribe is not necessarily a cultural unit, and when describing distinct groups, as in Africa and elsewhere, most writers now use the term "ethnic group" to indicate the group's distinct social or cultural identity in a multi-ethnic nation-state.



Gaamã Songó, Paramount Chief of the Saramaka Maroons, receives a gift from Festival curators at his headquarters in Asindóópo, Suriname. One of his under-officers formally presents the gift to him. *Photo by Diana Baird N'Diaye*

man is released from the mourning obligations incumbent upon other members of his community.

The Ede Kabiteni (Head Chief)

The Ede Kabiteni represents the Gaanman, the supreme authority, in supervising the administration of a specified territory. Usually, a village chief is elevated to the office of head chief by virtue of his administrative abilities.

The Kabiteni (Village Chief)

The village chief wields authority over a village on behalf of the paramount chief. Villages are represented externally, as units, by the Kabiteni, who has a decisive voice in all deliberations except those occurring in tribe-wide assemblies.

The Basia (Under-Officer)

The Basia assists the higher officials in the carrying out of all ritual and administrative matters. The Basia's principal duty is to act as town crier and maintainer of order. The sphere of a

female Basia's responsibility is restricted to domestic activities during ceremonial occasions. In this society, women have a subordinate role. All officials are appointed for life.

Administration of Justice

Among all Maroon societies, the jural system is nearly the same. Each tribe creates its own body of laws in the course of tribal councils. Justice is based on unwritten rules and is not devised exclusively by persons occupying official positions. In actuality, elders, other respected persons and family councils dispense justice. The reaching of a verdict, which always takes place during a meeting (*kuutu*), is always public. The suspect is not present during the trial but is represented by a family member or other advocate. Conflicts between families are settled by family councils. All conflicts, transgressions and minor offenses are settled according to tribal custom. Serious crimes such as murder are handed over to the central government. Finally, it should be mentioned that a chief's house offers temporary asylum to all transgressors and accused persons.

Arts of the Suriname Maroons

Sally Price

The daily life of Maroons in the interior of Suriname is unusually rich in artistic activity and aesthetic discussion. The anthropologist Melville Herskovits remarked in 1930 (using a term for the Suriname Maroons that was standard in his day): "Bush Negro art in all its ramifications is, in the final analysis, Bush Negro life." A scene like the following is typical:

Three women are sitting in an open-sided shed. Carefully patterned arrangements of scar tissue create sharp accents on their faces and chests, and their wrap-skirts and waist ties make splashes of color against the earthen floor. One of them is baking manioc cakes over a barely smoldering fire. She spreads the flour deftly over the dry griddle, draws her fingers over the surface to form selected decorative patterns, and sifts a thin layer of flour on top. While each cake bakes, she works on a complex, triple-technique hairdo for the second woman, who sits on a handsomely carved wooden stool, an as-yet-uncarved calabash shell on her lap. Well-known in the village for her technical mastery and sense of design in this medium, she is marking out a pattern for the third woman, who will later use pieces of broken glass to finish the bowl carving. For now howev-

er, the third woman is busy crocheting a pair of multi-color calfbands for her husband, working slowly around a bottle to create an evenly circular band.

The noted carver rotates the prepared calabash shell, trying to recapture in her mind the details of a particular configuration. She discusses with the woman sitting at her side the design they'd like to reproduce, but when neither one can remember just how its appendages were curved, she settles on a new version which, she

later decides, is even better than the original. The woman with the calfbands crochets steadily, enlisting both her friends' advice about the width of the red and yellow stripes that will form its center. As the three of them work, their conversation alternates between village gossip and discussion of their artistry.

Gatherings like this bring together the artistic dimensions in different areas of Maroon life, from preparing food and serving meals to furniture, clothes and grooming. Artistry, aesthetic discussion and social interaction are routinely woven together in the fab-

ric of Maroon daily life.

Music and dance are equally integrated into village activities. Specialized dances are performed by the mediums of various possession gods, and there are many secular dances, each enjoyed in a particular social context. It is rare to walk through a Maroon village without hearing someone singing. Distinctive song styles contribute to the whole range of Maroon ritual events, from complex funerary rites to the



This Ndjuka wooden tray is used for winnowing rice. Winnowing trays are often carved by Maroon men as gifts for their wives. Photo by Diana Baird N'Diaye

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"domestication" of a newly discovered spirit: they are also part of communal labor such as felling trees or hauling logs and are also performed in many casual or even solitary settings. Drums are used singly or in various combinations to accompany different secular dance forms; to announce, supervise and comment on the proceedings of large public council meetings; and to communicate with each kind of possession god, with other deities and spirits, and with the ancestors. And there are other musical instruments as well — bells and wooden trumpets, a stringed instrument made with a gourd, and "finger pianos."

Finally, the verbal arts — folk tales, play languages, proverbs, speeches made by possessed mediums, oratory and prayer — employ a wide range of styles based on everyday languages, and they keep alive a large number of distinctive esoteric languages used only in special ritual settings.

In general, Maroons expect all these activities to be practiced and discussed by the entire population — in contrast to many African societies, where only certain individuals are trained to be artists, and where critics may also play a specialized role. The most important cultural division is gender-related: men's and women's arts are distinctive in their tools, media and decorative styles. At least until recently, all Maroon men were adept at carving a wide range of wooden objects as gifts for women — from canoes and house fronts to combs and food stirrers — and all women produced elaborate patchwork and embroidered textiles to be worn by men. Even today, this pattern of general artistic exchange helps shape relations between men and women for most of the Maroon population.

When Maroons talk about art, which they do often, they almost invariably refer in some way to its central role in social life — to artfully-designed objects presented at a birth ceremony or at a ritual marking adulthood, to beautifully decorative textiles draped on the gabled coffin at a dignitary's funeral rites, to the art objects exchanged to mark the establishment and continuation of a marriage, to the gifts given to help celebrate a man's return from long-term wage labor at the coast, and so forth. People rarely comment on a woodcarving without referring to the maker, to the woman for whom it was made, and to details of their relationship at the moment he presented it to her.

Many visitors to Suriname have understood Maroon arts less in the context of their contem-

porary social setting than in the context of their African roots. The villages of the rainforest have often been seen as a "little Africa in America" and Maroon arts as direct "African survivals." The title of one article in a 1939 issue of *Natural History* magazine promised a description of "Africa's Lost Tribes in South America" in the form of "an on-the-spot account of blood-chilling African rites of 200 years ago preserved intact in the jungles of South America by a tribe of run-away slaves." More recent visitors have even claimed that Maroons have maintained a society "that is 'more African' than much of Africa is today." Behind this view lies the myth that so-called primitive societies exist outside of history, changing only when other, "more advanced" societies impinge on them and erode their "traditional way of life."

In fact, non-Western societies differ enormously in their attitudes toward change and in the amount of internal dynamism that characterizes their cultural life. The societies of the Suriname Maroons, like the vast majority of societies in West and Central Africa, have *always* been highly dynamic. Art historical research in archives, museums and the villages of the Suriname interior has demonstrated conclusively the high value Maroons place on creativity, innovation and artistic development from one generation to the next. Far from being static leftovers from 17th-century Africa, Maroon art has continually developed as its makers played and experimented with their ancestral heritage, adapting it creatively to their changing lives.

We know that the original Maroons produced little decorative woodcarving or textiles; their clothing was extremely simple and their houses and furnishings were largely unembellished. It was only over time that the relatively crude woodcarving of the mid-19th century evolved into a beautiful 20th-century art that has struck many outsiders as "African-looking." And the multi-colored Maroon narrow-strip textiles that so closely resemble West African *kente* cloth were invented only during the present century as a replacement for a very different textile art formerly embroidered by Maroon women in red, white, and black or navy. Paints, introduced in a few conservative colors some 100 years ago, have since come to play a central role among the eastern Maroons. And calabashes, which until the mid-19th century were decorated only on the outside surfaces by men, began to be carved on the insides by women, who used new tools and produced an entirely new decorative style.



A Saramaka man in Asindópo displays a decorated rattle used to accompany songs for forest spirits. In front of him are two carved *apinti* drums. Photo by Diana Baird N'Diaye

A young Saramaka woman, Fandolina, braids the hair of her friend Doisimóni in Asindópo. The name of this particular hairstyle, *goón uwii*, likens it to a cultivated field. Photo by Diana Baird N'Diaye



In light of this history of change, how does one explain the visible resemblances between the arts of the Maroons and those of the peoples of West and Central Africa? If stylistic developments have repeatedly led Maroon arts in new directions, then how has the cultural legacy of Africa been expressed in Maroon art over the centuries? The answer lies more in the continuity of African aesthetic *ideas* than in the direct transmission of African artistic *forms* from one generation to the next. The early Maroons were not in a position to continue such African traditions as weaving and ivory carving, but they did succeed in carrying on many of the fundamental ideas that underlie the style and meaning of those arts in Africa — ideas about symmetry, color contrast, and syncopation, and above all, the principal understanding that art has a place in all aspects of daily life.

Even under the harshly repressive conditions of slavery and during the century-long period of guerrilla warfare against the Dutch colonists, the Maroons still found opportunities for storytelling, dancing, drumming and singing. They made aesthetic choices about the way they walked, carried their babies and wore their hair. They expressed preferences in the arrangement of their household furnishings, the layout of their gardens, and in the way they mended their

clothes, served their meals, and in countless other aspects of daily life. These expressive forms did not require the specific resources of more formally elaborated artistic media, and in this way, aesthetic ideas were passed on and applied inventively to the changing artistic materials available to each generation. Forged in an inhospitable rainforest by people under constant threat of annihilation, the arts of the Suriname Maroons stand as enduring testimony to African-American resilience and creativity. They reflect the remarkable vitality of the Maroon artistic imagination, an especially exuberant expression of the rich and extensive system of African cultural ideas.

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- Music from Saramaka: A Dynamic Afro-American Tradition*. Smithsonian/Folkways SF 4225.

Maroon Societies and Creole Languages

Ian Hancock

The isolation of Maroon settlements and their efforts to keep outsiders at a distance have ensured that details of Maroon history remain incompletely documented. There were Maroons in Jamaica during the period of Spanish rule, for instance, before the English took over that island; but we don't know what language they spoke, or under what conditions it shifted to become the English-related creole spoken today. And so far, we can only speculate as to how some speakers among the Jamaican Maroons acquired and have preserved another creole language, one which bears striking similarities to the creoles spoken in Suriname, in South America. We are interested both in the historical origins and in the social conditions that perpetuated such a diversity of speech. Despite these gaps in our knowledge, what we can learn about Maroon societies, and especially about Maroon linguistic history, can nevertheless shed light on the development of creole languages and on the processes of creolization in general.

Creolization of Language

Linguists have documented many creole languages throughout the world. Creoles are not dialects of the various languages from which they took most of their vocabularies — English, Spanish, Portuguese, etc. — and the long-standing supposition that they are has caused serious problems in the classroom. This unfortunate situation is the result of several factors, in particular the perpetuation of negative attitudes instilled into creole-speaking populations during the years of colonialism, and the lack (until recently) of formal training for educators in creole language history and structure. Teachers in

creole-speaking countries can still treat their students' natural speech as deficient or defective, because this is what they themselves have been taught.

Nor are creoles "mixed" languages like, say, the Spanish-Portuguese dialect of the Brazilian-Argentinian border; they are new, restructured linguistic systems with grammars of their own. The way these languages come into being depends entirely on the social circumstances of their speakers' history. In most language-learning situations, a child is born into an already-existing speech community in which parents and other adults speak an already-existing language and provide models for that child to learn from. If such a stable speech community does not exist, but instead the community consists of speakers of many languages, then no target language exists for the child to imitate, and no community of model speakers of a single language is available to help the child learn. Instead, according to one theory, the infant will draw upon certain innate structures — perhaps part of a genetically-determined "language ability" — and upon the eclectic pool of lexical and other linguistic material present in the multilingual community.

Such multilingual communities may result from persons of differing linguistic backgrounds coming together and having to communicate, such as in army or police barracks in some parts of the world; but these will not always become communities into which children are born. Languages used among adults in such circumstances may never be spoken as a child's first language. Languages emerging in this way are usually called pidgins in the analytic literature; they may cease to exist once their usefulness ends.

Ian Hancock is Professor of Linguistics and English at the University of Texas at Austin. His major work has been with the English-related creoles and Romani. His pioneering work in Brackettville, Texas, brought to light the fact that the Seminole Maroons of this community have maintained a distinct language, Afro-Seminole Creole, closely related to Gullah. He earned his Ph.D. from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London.

Comparison of a Sentence in Several Maroon Languages and other Creoles

This chart shows: 1) similarities of vocabulary; 2) similarities in syntax (word order); 3) the "deeper" (less European) quality of Maroon versus non-Maroon Creole languages

English Sentence:

"SHE GROUND THE CORN WITH A PESTLE"

(In the following creole languages, this sentence is expressed with a different construction than in English; in the creoles, it is rendered as "she took pestle [mortar-stick] mash corn")

	<i>she</i>	<i>[past marker]</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>mortar-slick</i>	<i>mash</i>	<i>corn</i>
Saramaccan *	a	bi	téi	tatí	masiká	kálu
Ndjuka*	a	be	teke	mata tiki	masi	kalu
Aluku (Boni)*	a	be	teki	mata tiki	masi	kalu
Jamaican Maroon Creole*	o	min	teka	maata tiki	maas	kaan
Jamaican Gullah	im	ben	tek	maata tik	mash	kaan
	i	bin	tek	pesl fo	grain	kaan
Krio (Sierra Leone)	i	bin	tek	mata tik	mash	kon
Palenquero* †	eli	a	kohé	piló pa	molé	maí

*Languages marked by asterisk are Maroon Languages

†Vocabulary derived from Spanish rather than English

(adapted from Hancock, 1987)

Upper Guinea Coast English: A Source of Western Hemisphere Creoles

During the early years of European contact on the Upper Guinea Coast of West Africa, local and highly distinctive (though not creolized) varieties of Portuguese, English, French and Dutch seem to have developed. They were spoken between European settlers and their African wives and fellow residents. There is evidence that Upper Guinea Coast English came to be used as a lingua franca among the African porters, or *grumettos*, who worked for Europeans and Afro-Europeans. We have records of slaves who say that they learned "English" in the slaving depots on the West African coast while awaiting transportation, and on the ships coming west. But the "English" they learned was in fact an already blended Guinea Coast dialect. It was spoken as a second language and learned by the *grumettos* as adults from their employers, many of whom spoke it as a first language. The eclectic linguistic mix of Africans in the *barracoons* awaiting ship-

ment provided the linguistic environment suitable for the emergence of a pidgin. The vocabulary of the Coast English, at least as it was utilized by the *grumettos*, was available to the slaves, though conditions for learning the whole language were not.

When Africans arrived in American slave markets, they were sold as individuals, not in family or colingual (same-language-speaking) lots. The new communities they subsequently joined throughout the British territories — in North, South or Central America or on the different Caribbean islands — were made up of individuals like themselves who had no choice but to continue to use what they had learned if they wanted to be able to communicate. When their children were born into these polyglot communities, this still-emerging lingua franca based on Upper Guinea Coast English provided their language model. During the early period, however, the infant mortality rate was very high, and only the steady influx of new adult slaves

ensured that the communities did not die out. Nevertheless, within the first two or three decades in each community, the linguistic situation had more or less stabilized, and with the cessation of the slave trade, the original African languages began to disappear.

Not entirely, however. In Maroon communities especially, remnants of African languages dating from the earlier period continue to be used in ritual contexts.

Maroon Languages - "Deep" Creoles

Because of their social and geographical isolation, most Maroon languages are distinctly conservative when compared with other creoles. While they are creoles, they are less like the languages from which they took most of their vocabularies — English, French, Dutch, etc. — than non-Maroon creoles. Some speakers refer to the relative difference or distance between creole and its metropolitan counterpart as being more or less "deep," and Maroon creole languages tend to be deeper than those spoken by non-Maroon populations. This is true not only because of the larger African component of their lexicon, but also because of their phonology and grammar.

In creole-speaking communities where the lexically-related metropolitan language is also spoken — which is the case in most places — each is exposed to the other, and there is constant influence upon the creole from the colonial language. More so than the reverse, since most speakers aim for competence in the official language, and may intentionally modify their creole in that direction. In such places, we cannot really speak of a single, distinct creole at all, but of a continuum, or spectrum, of varieties that ranges from deep to those with increased interference from the colonial European language. In some places, this contact seems to have resulted in the gradual extinction of the creole, for example in parts of the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, where we have records, but no contemporary evidence of, a creole called "Habla Bozal."

But a Creole Spanish *does* survive in the Maroon community of San Basilio de Palenque in the region of Cartagena, Colombia. Likewise, some of the "deepest" Black English in the United States is spoken in those parts of Louisiana which in earlier centuries were home to North American Maroon communities.

The Jamaican Maroons also remember their own creole, which is now used only to communi-

cate with ancestral spirits, but which was probably their everyday speech until the early part of this century. Jamaican Maroon Creole is extremely conservative in its English component, which comes so close to that of the creoles of Suriname as to suggest strongly an actual historical connection with them. The same Maroon populations have also retained some African speech as well, particularly Ashanti, spoken in the region of modern-day Ghana. Examples of Jamaican Maroon forms that have parallels in Suriname but not in general Jamaican Creole include the "be" verb *na* (which is *a* or *da* in Jamaican Creole), the particle *sa* used with verbs to indicate future tense (and which is *wi* or *gwain* in Jamaican Creole) and *ontí* meaning "what" (Jamaican Creole has *wa* or *wat* or *wara*).

The speech of the Afro-Seminole is similarly conservative when compared with its immediate historical relative, the Gullah or Sea Islands Creole spoken along the Carolina and Georgia coast. Negation in Sea Island creole with *na* is now extremely rare, having been replaced with *ain'* or *don'*, but it is general in Seminole, e.g., *mi no yeddi um*, "I didn't hear her." Similarly, the common creole grammatical marker for pluralizing nouns, i.e., by placing the word *dem* after them, has practically disappeared from Sea Islands Creole, but again, is normal for Seminole: *enti humnuh bin bruck di stick dem?* "Didn't you break the sticks?"

Although the formalized study of creolized language is well over a century old, it is only in the present day that linguists have come to realize its importance in our attempts to understand the processes of language genesis and acquisition. We have also widened the scope of Creole Studies to acknowledge that other features of society besides language are subject to creolization, and we look now to this aspect in the emergence of new cultures, cuisines, musics and identities, especially within the various Maroon societies, in the post-colonial world.

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THE MAROONS AND MOORE TOWN

Colonel C.L.G. Harris

When the famous navigator, Christopher Columbus, reached Jamaica on May 4, 1494, he found Arawak Indians there — gentle, peaceful aborigines. These people were put to unaccustomed hard work and this resulted in a dramatic decrease in their numbers. At this point a plea was made on their behalf by Bartholome de las Casas who asked the Spanish authorities to replace them with African workers who, he claimed, were better suited for such strenuous labor. What “the Apostle of the Indians” failed to understand was that slavery was an evil irrespective of the tribe or nation involved. His advice was accepted, and soon men and women were wrenched from their homeland in West Africa to become slaves in Jamaica.

On May 10, 1655, a British military force under Admiral Penn and General Venables landed in Jamaica and captured it. At the end of the action the black bondsmen took themselves to the mountains, where they made their pledge never to be slaves again — a pledge destined to remain secure in a sanctum of inviolability — and soon war between them and the British became inevitable. After more than 80 years of warfare, they were approached by the British on a mission of peace. And so in 1739, a peace treaty was drawn up. By virtue of the treaty, they received among other benefits tax-free lands in different parts of the island where succeeding generations have since lived continuously. These are the Maroons of Jamaica.

The Moore Town Maroons are considered special in comparison with their counterparts in other sections of Jamaica, and the following are some reasons for this, not necessarily in order of their importance. 1) The acreage of land they own exceeds by far that of any other such community. 2) The Maroon language, Kromanti — an equivalent of the Asante Twi of Ghana — is better known among them than in the other communities. 3) Their wizardry with the ambush — the camouflage created by Grandy Nanny and her warriors — is to this day a concept unattainable by others. 4) In the manufacture of their drums, only material actually grown in their territory is used — apart from the goatskin, on occasion. 5) Their Kromanti Dance is one of inherent seriousness; it is never frivolous, even when done for the sole purpose of entertainment. 6) No colonel or chief (these terms are interchangeable) of Moore Town has ever sought the office — each has been taken unawares when asked to accept the position; on every occasion there has been election by acclamation. 7) From almost every sector of the world messages extolling their warm hospitality are constantly being received by the Maroons of Moore Town. 8) The community of Moore Town was founded by the legendary Grandy Nanny, now a Jamaican National Hero — the greatest Maroon leader ever to set foot on Jamaican soil

— from whom descended the most notable line of families in its population.

Often in interviews the question has been asked of me, “What does it mean to you to be a Maroon today?” When it is considered that Grandy Nanny, Kojo, Accompong and others of our leaders prevailed against the forces of a kingdom that ruled more than a quarter of all the lands on earth, then the pride of their Maroon posterity can be understood and appreciated. Yet these physical victories gave rise to other victories of deep moral, psychological and spiritual significance which increased that pride and its concomitant thankfulness a hundred-fold. If the Maroons had been defeated, meaningful black resistance to the indignity and cruelty of African slavery would have ended — at least for a season — and so even today the cries of the tortured might still have been heard on the plantations, in the dungeons and from myriad village squares across the world. The knowledge that the Mother of my fathers, from her base in little Jamaica, burst asunder the prison bars of black bondage means more to me than life itself. It is like a sacrament taken daily as I kneel in humility at the feet of Nvankopon (The Creator) in the peaceful evening hour. Nvame adom (Thank God), I would not change my Maroon Heritage for occupancy of the White House nor the grandeur of the British Throne.

It is most important to understand that these people brought language, culture and extra-sensory attributes from *Mother Africa* some five centuries ago which survived the vicissitudes of existence in what was once a ‘strange land’ — an *inhospitable environment* — and they are dedicated to the preservation of all that is best in their past. And though extremely poor in terms of dollars and cents they refuse to be mendicants or ciphers in a ruthless political game. Thus our vast potential for the greater good of humanity awaits the coming day when some wise, decent gentleman or lady will join us in developing our assets to his or her benefit and ours.

The Maroon Story — an odyssey of courage and endurance — is sublimely inspirational in testifying to the fact that mortals may, by fixity of purpose, strength of character, and constancy of faith, rise from the purely physical plane where circumscription is dominant, to the yet unexplored heights of the spiritual, where the horizons are illimitable; where wonders are wrought; where there is communion and fellowship with the souls of departed heroes, and angels minister to the needs of men; whence the armies of Bondage are broken and overcome. This inspiration reflects eternal sunshine on the faces of men and women kneeling at the feet of The Infinite as they prepare to offer their lives, if necessary, for that freedom without which life is death.

C. L.G. Harris has been Colonel of the Moore Town Maroons since 1964 and for many years also served as Principal of the All-Age School in Moore Town. The author of a number of books and articles on the Jamaican Maroon heritage, he is also a poet whose work has appeared in The Daily Gleaner and a number of other publications.

THE ACCOMPONG TOWN MAROONS: PAST AND PRESENT

Colonel M.L. Wright

The name Maroon refers to groups of people who resisted Spanish and English slavery — they defeated the English and gained freedom from being enslaved any longer.

Today you'll find the Maroon settlement of Accompong perched high up in the mountains of St. Elizabeth in western Jamaica, bordering the western parishes of St. James and Trelawny. This state is a nation within the nation of the island of Jamaica. Its citizens are descendants of former runaway slaves who fled the slave plantations of Jamaica to form their own communities. They live on lands granted under a treaty and continue to practice and enjoy the traditional customs handed down to them by their African guerilla forefathers. Accompong was a supply base for the Maroons during their war for freedom against the British from 1655 until the signing of the Peace Treaty between both parties on March 1st, 1739. The hero of Accompong was Kojo, who led its armies during those war years and never lost a battle. Since January 6, 1738 when Kojo routed the British army and slaughtered every member within it except one, Accompong has never again had a battle on its soil. He requested this one remaining English general to take a message to the then governor Edward Trelawny that the British should send more soldiers, as the Maroons were ready to repeat their feat. There have been no murders in this community for hundreds of years since.

The people of Accompong are law-abiding and trustworthy. Their secret name for themselves means "Mighty Friend," and indeed a Maroon is the best friend one can have. The land of the settlement is communally owned. A deep sense of belonging to a family prevails in this town. Life expectancy is high. An unusually high number live to be over 100 years old. Many Accompong Maroons live vigorous lives into old age and perform gruelling dances at festivals that would phase the youngsters of other communities.

The Colonel is the Chief Leader of the town, elected every five years by a poll by ballots. He is assisted by a council of 32 members, men and women, appointed by him.

The town's greatest event is the festival held every January to celebrate Kojo's Victory over the British that led to the Treaty. This celebration is planned to coincide with Kojo's birthday and emphasizes Kojo's remarkable leadership and the sacrifice he made fighting for his people for so many long, dreary years in this wild, rugged Cockpit Country.

Thousands of people from all walks of life, Jamaicans and foreigners visit the town on the day of the celebrations. The celebration begins at approximately 10 a.m. with the sound of the *abeng*, the side-blown horn, the Maroon War Horn which has been in use in Jamaica for over three centuries. This instrument is made from cow horn and at full blast can be heard clearly over a distance of approximately 15 kilometers. The horn was used to communicate messages between Maroon communities. It calls Maroons to assembly and to contribute to Maroon funerals. It played and still plays a major role in many other Maroon celebrations. The *abeng* message is incomprehensible to non-Maroons. Throughout celebration day there is much feasting, selling of various types of goods and telling of folk tales and history. The highlight of the festivity is the reenactment of the war dances and Treaty Songs of the Accompong Maroons.

Maroons in former times were skilled in bush medicine, and even today some use the different (bush) herbs of the land for medicinal purposes. The roots and bark of trees are also used to make Maroon drinks, which are always available at a moderate cost to visitors.

Most Maroons still honor and respect their Heritage Treaty and customs. However, a small minority of male youths are desirous that these should cease and that the Accompong Maroons should now forfeit these privileges and customs and be totally merged into the tax-paying population of Jamaica. Such a suggestion will always be defeated by well-thinking Maroons for it would dash to nought what past Maroon warriors — men, women and even children — risked their lives so desperately and arduously to obtain. The Maroons of today are still united in spite of minor differences and setbacks among some of them at times. All Maroon villages are united and vowed never to serve the British Monarchy. However, the Accompong Maroons have pledged to always pay due respect to each succeeding Jamaican government.

People of good behavior are always welcomed to Accompong. The village has a tourist entertaining booth, and tourists, school children in large and small groups and other Jamaicans visit Accompong daily to hear the history of the past, to learn about the present and to see and know the Maroons themselves, for a lot of foolish sayings go around Jamaica about the Maroons, even in this time close to the 21st century. To learn more about the Maroons and their customs, visit Accompong on Kojo's Day, January 6th, 1993, and see for yourself.

Martin Luther Wright, leader of the Accompong Town Maroons, has held the office of Colonel for several terms. He also works as a farmer and is Deacon of the Church of God International in Accompong Town. As Colonel, he has actively promoted the Maroon cultural heritage of Accompong Town.

STATEMENT BY GAANMAN JOACHIM-JOSEPH ADOCHINI, PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF THE ALUKU (BONI) PEOPLE

Transcribed and Translated from Aluku by Kenneth Bilby

[Recorded at Studio T.R.M. in Maripasoula, French Guiana, at the request of Festival curators, and forwarded to Washington, D.C.]

I send cordial greetings to you [Ken Bilby] — and, respectfully and humbly, to the entire United States. I also send greetings to the President of the United States and all his under-officers.

Today you sent a message and asked who will govern the Aluku territory as a leader — who will be the new Paramount Chief to govern the territory. Well, one can't go and claim such a post oneself. But the entire Aluku people have set their sights on a person they believe should speak for them today as their leader. This person is Brother Adochini; he is the one whom they have chosen as a leader. It is he who will become the Paramount Chief and oversee this territory.

So I am the one who will respond to what you asked about.

You asked what system of government the Aluku people have, and how I am thinking about administering the Aluku government. I am hoping to govern well, with the cooperation of all the people. For an individual cannot govern by himself. If a paramount chief is installed, then he has the village chiefs and under-officers behind him. The people of a territory in general — those who are not chiefs — also cooperate with him in working on behalf of the community to ensure that it does not break apart and cease to exist.

Well, today, this is the way I'm thinking about governing the territory: I would like to govern it as in the old days. I would like to govern it the way Gaanman Difu [Paramount Chief of the Aluku from 1937-1965] did. It is his type of government that I want. I would like to govern in his manner. I will call on God's help so that I may govern in that way. For I am not as knowledgeable as the elders before me.

I am about to become the 13th Paramount Chief, I believe, to occupy this office and govern the Aluku people since we made peace, and since we entered the forest. Therefore it will be a strong government, because it contains the strength of those 13. So I would like to administer the government honorably, so that it may continue to be respected.

I send thanks to you for asking me my thoughts

about the visit of the Aluku people who will be coming to the United States. This is what I want them to go and see: I want them to go and see how Americans live. I want them to go and see how the people over there live — how, even though there are so many of them, they understand each other. I would like them to go and see what your traditions over there are like. I would like them to go and see your ancestral heritage, over there where you have enshrined it — so they may come back with that kind of respect; so they will know that the things of the ancestors are valuable; so we may attend to the things of our own ancestors once again, and carry them forward. That is one of my thoughts regarding the visit of the people to the United States that you asked me about.

It pleased me too, that you asked me my thoughts. I wouldn't like it if my people were to learn the American way of life, when they go over there, in order to bring it back here; because we will never turn into Americans. I want them to go, and then to return as Boni people, so that it may be said that a Boni person has gone to the United States to observe how Americans live, just as an American can come to the Boni territory and observe how Boni people live. Nor would I like it if an American were to come to my territory, bringing his way of life and offering it to me, while saying that the traditions of the Aluku people should disappear. In the same way, now that my people are going over there, I want them to go with this very same understanding.

The thing that Aluku people have, and use to survive — their source of strength — is [our religious tradition of] *kumanti*. It was with the powers of *kumanti* that my people left the coast and became rulers of the Maroni River. I will never abandon that tradition.

I will not abandon the old dances of my people — *songe, awasa, malo, sasa*. I won't forget them. I was born with those traditions. I will dance your dances. But when I perform my own — that is my tradition. Never will I abandon it.

I send thanks to you. I send greetings to the President of the United States, with the message that the Aluku people are still alive. The Boni people are still alive. We're still here.

Gaanman Joachim-Joseph Adochini is the newly-appointed Paramount Chief of the Aluku Maroons of French Guiana. After years of service as an elected official in the French Guianese government, he left French party politics in 1992 to take up the highest post in the Aluku government.

STATEMENT BY GAANMAN GAZON MATODJA, PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF THE NDJUKA (AUKANER) PEOPLE

Transcribed and Translated from Ndjuka by Kenneth Bilby

So. The person speaking here today, on the 26th of March, is Gaanman Gazon Matodja of Diitabiki. Today he will speak to the people of the United States. Well, I can declare to the people of the United States that the person who occupied this post before me was Gaanman Akoontu Velanti of Diitabiki. It was his office, and now I am sitting in his place to carry on the work. By my count, this elder, Gaanman Akoontu Velanti, occupied this office for 11 years before he passed away. When Gaanman Akoontu Velanti died, I took over his office to keep his place for him. I have been in this office, I believe, for 26 years. So I state.

Well, I oversee the area from the Cottica River all the way to Gaan Boli. We call it the Tapanahony. The Tapanahony River is the Ndjuka River. All the people within this region are under my authority, from the Cottica River, through to the Commewijne River, continuing along the river, all the way to Gaan Boli. Those are the people who operate under my authority. We call this river the Tapanahony. Those going by the name Aukaner (Okansi) people, Tapanahony Aukaner people — they are under Gaanman Gazon's authority.

The way paramount chiefs governed in the past used to be different. The chiefs and under-officers in this region received no pay in the past. But they and the paramount chief stood together. Whenever anything happened in the area, the paramount chief would put them in charge. If somebody was stealing, the person might be whipped. And if someone wronged someone else, the person might be whipped. When a transgression occurred, the chiefs and under-officers would throw their support behind the paramount chief. They used to work hard, without pay, those chiefs and under-officers of the area — they were the government of the region.

But nowadays, although the *Kabiteni* (village chiefs) who are put in office and the *Basia* (under-officers) take care of their own villages — when you take a good look — you see that their work is no longer done as it used to be in the past. Their work no longer gets done precisely as it should. In other

words, things in my territory no longer work as well as I would like.

In the past, when someone had a disagreement with someone else in the Ndjuka area — let's say they fought — then they would fight with their fists. They would fight with their fists. There were certain matters that I as *Gaanman* (Paramount Chief) would concern myself with directly. But if I sent the *Kabiteni* and the *Basia*, then they would go and debate the case [in the context of a *kuutu*, a council meeting]. Whoever was in the right, they would decide in his favor; whoever was in the wrong, they would decide against him.

And if someone went too far, fighting another person with his fists in a way that wasn't right — if he fought at night, or fought in the water — then they would impose a penalty on him; perhaps he'd have to dig out a large boat, or he'd have to clear a garden in virgin forest, or he'd have to pay a fine of one demijohn worth of rum. That's how our law used to be, here in the forest.

But now, for those born in recent times, life has changed totally. They are adopting the city way of life. When people have a disagreement nowadays, then they grab a machete or a knife. They've adopted the ways of Paramaribo [the capital of Suriname]. But that was not the way in the forest. This shocks us... taking a gun to shoot someone else!...

So all these things, they never used to exist in the forest. It's something new that I've encountered in my work, which I don't like. But one can do nothing about it by oneself. When those kinds of things happen, they are matters for the police. The police must handle those things. I can't take care of those things by myself.

The *Kabiteni* of today no longer have the strength of those who used to govern in the past. They're afraid of the public. The public is stronger than they are.

Okay, we'll stop there. I'll say no more for now. What remains to be said we will hear about later. Okay.

Gaanman Gazon Matodja has been Paramount Chief of the Ndjuka Maroons of Suriname since 1966. In 1970, as part of an official delegation of Surinamese Maroon Paramount Chiefs, he became one of the first Surinamese Maroons to visit Africa. His attendance at this year's Festival will be his second visit to the United States.

STATEMENT BY GAAMA SONGO, PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF THE SARAMAKA PEOPLE

Transcribed and Translated from Saramaccan by Richard Price

[Recorded at the request of Festival curators, forwarded by H.R.M. Libretto, District Commissioner of the Sipaliwini District, Suriname, and transcribed from tape cassette.]

So, Commissioner [Libretto], here I am again. I greet you. Well, I received your taped message. It's because of that taped message that I am speaking here, and it said I shouldn't talk too long. Just a very brief speech.

Well, my name is Songó. My name is Songó. I was made paramount chief on 19 December 1990 in the forest realm. Then they took me to the city to receive official [Suriname government] recognition on 15 April 1991. My tribe is Saramaka. My clan is Matjáu.

The earliest paramount chiefs received tribute [from the colonists], along with a little cash bonus they put into their hands. They maintained contact with the city government, but in those days travel was by paddle canoe. And then, after a long time, paddle canoes were replaced by motor canoes in the days of Paramount Chief Abóikóni [Songó's predecessor]. Chief Abóikóni traveled by outboard and large motor canoe, but he also went by airplane. By the time you get to Paramount Chief Songó's reign, things have surely changed!

With all these changes, we now travel by plane, or even [part way] by car, to get to the city. Well, the epoch you're born into, that's the one you have to deal with. The thing is, people say the whole world's changing, and the moment in which I find myself, that's the one I have to deal with.

But the responsibilities of the paramount chief do not change. The work that was left by Chief Abóikóni for Chief Songó to finish, that's what he is engaged in now. Well, there's nothing that I myself cause to change; if things change course, that's just the way it happens. This is the message I have for you.

The first paramount chief to go to the land of the whites was Chief Abóikóni, who went to

Europe. He was a member of the Matjáu clan! He went to Africa. He was a Matjáu! He went in the course of his duties. Then I came along and they gave me the chieftaincy, and now they are talking about the same kinds of duties again.

A message has come that I must go to the United States. Well, we don't know what they are taking us there to do. It's only once we're there that we'll really find out. But I have no duty higher than upholding the office of paramount chief to pass on to those younger folks who will be coming along later.

Now, I will say a prayer the way our ancestors did. Here in the forest realm, after an elder has participated in a council meeting, when he's ready to get up at the end, he'll spread the word to everyone and everywhere by saying a prayer. So, I'll say a prayer for the world in the tradition of the Matjáu clan.

This isn't an evil prayer! This prayer is good. This prayer makes children grow, makes them get big. Just the way the night and the day both make things grow. Because the night and the day are fertile. God created them to make things grow, to make the earth be fruitful. That's what this prayer says [in esoteric language]. That's what it is about.

It says, "*Ahúinkwádja. Ahúinkwádja. Ahúinkwádja. Awángamádesúsu. Awángamádesúsu.*" That's what this prayer says, speaking to all human beings, to the animals, to the birds and to the fish. So that they may multiply on this earth, so that people may live until they are old, may the Great God take good care of his family!

We'll stop here. We'll end our speech here. We'll end our prayer here. That's it, Commissioner. I have spoken.

[The esoteric formula in Chief Songó's prayer refers to an 18th century incident that took place soon after his enslaved ancestors rebelled and escaped to freedom in the forests — see Richard Price, *First-Time*, pp. 58-59.]

Gaamā Songó was recently installed as Paramount Chief of the Saramaka Maroons of Suriname, following the death of former Paramount Chief Abóikóni in 1989. He keeps his headquarters in Asindópo on the Pikilio River, the traditional residence of the Saramaka Gaamā.

MAROON STRUGGLE IN COLOMBIA

Gabino Hernandez Palomino

Translated from Spanish by Héctor Antonio Corporán

The struggle for freedom was an historical constant among Black people; the history of the Colombian national struggle for freedom drew inspiration from Black people's efforts to gain liberty. To meet their objective, African slaves enacted different forms of resistance, such as going on hunger strikes, jumping overboard from slave ships on the voyage to the Americas, committing suicide and infanticide, poisoning Spaniards, running away from plantations and into the forests and directly confronting colonists.

The word "maroon" applied to rebel slaves denotes being wild, autonomous, independent. The Maroon struggle created the first free community of Black people in South America in 1713: Palenque de San Basilio in the province of Bolívar, Colombia.

Palenque de San Basilio is the result of a most remarkable insurrectionary movement of slaves in Colombia. Under the leadership of Benkos Bioho, ex-monarch of an African state, 37 men and women banded together to form a liberation movement. Successful raids on plantations for food and supplies contributed to the growth of their Maroon army. To safeguard their *palenque*, or palisaded village, Maroons developed strategies for defending against attack, communicating, keeping watch, obtaining provisions and wearing down the enemy.

In one of the many battles against the Spanish army, the Maroons took as hostage Francisco de Campos, second-in-command of the expedition. This act forced the Spanish authorities to seek an "amicable settlement." In a Charter of Pardon ratified in 1713, the King of Spain granted the Maroons their absolute liberty and the ownership of a specific territory. Here they created a culture, an economy and a social structure.

Their language continues to be spoken to this day.

The Maroons' struggle for freedom pointed the way for Colombia in its struggle to gain independence from the Spaniards. Neither the Indian revolt against landowners towards the end of the 18th century, nor the independence movement led by Simón Bolívar, can be understood without knowing the history of Palenque de San Basilio.

Today Palenque de San Basilio has approximately 5,000 inhabitants. Most men raise cattle and cultivate the land; women market sweets, *bullos* (a tamale-like snack with cornmeal filling), and products harvested by the men such as cassava, corn, rice, yams, plantains and other fruits and vegetables.

The community's formal educational system consists of a secondary school and an elementary school that operates without a government budget. Its health needs are addressed by a small center managed by a medical aide and visited once a week by a doctor.

At present, Palenque de San Basilio is experiencing a crisis. Its standard of living is deteriorating, and Palenqueros lack sufficient land for cultivation. Many of the programs implemented by government and non-government organizations aim at resolving only immediate needs, or they are the result of inadequate plans which the community accepts without real understanding of the projects' goals and objectives. A poor understanding of our cultural values leads outside agencies to violate our cultural principles.

To us land represents hope, the way of the future and therefore, the way we can continue to exist. To lose the land which is our means of support and subsistence is to remain in slavery. The lack of land for cultivation shuts out the possibility of development and accelerates the migration of young people to cities like Cartagena, Barranquilla, Riohacha and the neighboring country of Venezuela. In these places Palenqueros seek new horizons but because of their low educational level and economic conditions there, they end up being incorporated into the large belts of poverty that exist in these cities. In the last ten years a group of young people has seen the need

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José Valdez Simanca and Graciela Salgado Valdez play the *yamaró* and the *pechiche*, the two drums that are typical of most Palenquero musical styles. Photo by Lorenzo Miranda Torres

to develop community goals. These include: socio-economic development; ethno-education (which has been taking place for the last three years); recovery of our land, culture and history; recognition of Palenque de San Basilio as a municipality; and acknowledgement of Palenque de San Basilio as an important part of mankind's historic cultural heritage.

Despite the difficulties noted, we continue to resist by preserving many of the cultural traditions of our ancestors. We speak a language derived in part from the Bantu languages of Africa, and we also speak Spanish. We are bilingual. Our own language, in addition to being a means of communication, keeps alive the memory of our ancestors.

Many older religious rites are preserved, such as the *lumbalú*, which is performed at wakes

as an expression of the new life awaiting the deceased. During the *lumbalú* performance, much use is made of historical musical instruments like the *pechiche* and the *llamador* (or *yamaró*), drums that can serve as signaling devices to send messages about recent events. These instruments were once used by the Maroons to alert the population about the presence of the Spanish army. The music and dance preserve many African elements.

Cuagros are social organizations characteristic of independent palenques (Maroon communities) in Colombia. One of their activities is to teach members the art of self-defense against outsiders or members of another *cuagro*. In this connection it is interesting to note that a number of great palenque boxers have achieved national and international renown. Maroon methods of combat were used to confront the Spaniards, and they guaranteed that a person was well-trained and permanently ready for combat. The increasing acculturation of many Palenqueros has brought the *cuagros* and other cultural elements to the verge of extinction.

The *cuagros* have been transformed into what are known today as *juntas*, organizations whose members are Palenqueros drawn from Palenque de San Basilio itself, neighboring towns and large regional cities. *Juntas* have some of the same characteristics as *cuagros*, and each one functions independently of any central governing body. Palenquero cultural values form a fundamental basis both for our culture and for the many contributions made by Palenqueros towards the development of what could be called "Colombian culture."

Palenqueros and the other Black communities of Colombia denounce quincentenary commemorations of the so-called "Discovery of America." From the unloading of the first Black men and women as slaves until today we have been victims of human rights violations and objects of racial and social discrimination that force us to live in conditions of extreme poverty.

Finally, understanding the objectives of the Festival of American Folklife, we believe this great event should be made an effective tool for reflection. It should be a way of carrying out programs about 500 years of *self-discovery* and should have as its horizon the preservation and strengthening of the practices of traditional cultures in the Americas.

TEXAS SEMINOLE SCOUTS

Charles Emily Wilson

Our people have lived in Texas for over 100 years. Before that, we were in Mexico, where some of us still live, and before that we were in Oklahoma, and even earlier than that, Florida. And before that, we came from Africa. As far as we've come, in all our travels, we have never lost an awareness of our identity and a pride in our freedom, because it is our freedom which makes us different from other Americans of African descent.

In the 17th century our ancestors fought against slavery and escaped into the northern bushlands of Spanish Florida. There we joined with our Indian brothers and sisters who had also escaped from the oppression of the European slavers; together, for many years, we resisted their attempts to recapture us. Together we rode against the white man to preserve our freedom, and together we created a Seminole society from both Indian and African roots. When we had to leave for safer territory in the 1830s to escape the slave raids in Florida, we went to Indian Territory and settled along the Canadian River in what is today Oklahoma. But slave raids continued from nearby states. In our search for peace, we left once again and went to Mexico, though some of our people stayed behind in Oklahoma, where their descendants still live today.

In 1870 a few hundred of our ancestors were asked to come to Texas to fight the Native Americans so that white people could settle in the region. Those Seminoles served as Scouts for the U.S. Army out of Fort Duncan in Eagle Pass and Fort Clark in Brackettville, where we live today.

Although some of us visit our relatives in Mexico, at El Nacimiento del los Negros in Coahuila State not far from Múzquiz, we lost touch with our people in Oklahoma until 1981, when some of them visited Brackettville for the Juneteenth celebration. June 19th commemorates the emancipation of the slaves in Texas, and we celebrate it every year in solidarity with our fellow Black Americans, but it is not a part of

Seminole history since we were never slaves in Texas.

For more than 200 years we kept our double African and Indian heritage alive. Our language and our way of life, our songs and dancing, our philosophy and our cooking all remind us of our distinctive roots. Only since the end of the Second World War have we really begun to lose those old ways. I remember when we would pound corn in a huge mortar made from a tree trunk to prepare *sufiki* and *toli*, our special dishes. I remember when everybody around us would be speaking Seminole, the children too. I remember the way we used to dress, and the kinds of homes we lived in on the grounds of Fort Clark.

Today there are few of us left who know our history and speak our language. It may be that too much time has already passed to get those things back. Some of the young people leave our small community and return to Brackettville only to visit. But perhaps this recognition of who we are and what we have done may stir in their hearts a sense of pride and may move them to learn from us while they can, and they may yet pass on our story to their own children. We have given our loyalty and our skill to our country, and we have contributed to its history. I can rest now, knowing that this has been recognized at last, and that future schoolchildren, both American and Seminole, will learn about the part we have played in the growth of our great nation.

Editor's note: The name Seminole is derived from the Spanish word *camaron*, meaning "fugitives" or "wild ones." *Camaron* was most often used in the Americas to refer to Africans who escaped from slavery. However, in early years the term was also applied to enslaved Native Americans who had escaped into Florida and who eventually came to identify themselves as *camanol* or "Semnole." In this program, the terms Seminole, Black Seminole, Semnole Scouts (Texas), and Semnole Freedmen (in Oklahoma) are all used to refer to communities of African-Americans whose ancestors joined with Native American Semnole communities but who maintained a separate identity and language within the larger Semnole communities.

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The Changing Soundscape in Indian Country

Thomas Vennum, Jr.

Music and Change

By its very nature, music is never totally static; over time, even the most conservative of musical traditions have been susceptible to change, however slight. In "never to be altered" traditions, such as European classical music, which depends upon scores precisely notated by their composers, each performer applies personal nuances of technique and interpretation. Thus no two performances, say, of a Beethoven piano sonata, will ever be exactly identical, even by the same player.

Change in music — like that in other kinds of cultural performance — is a response to changes that may occur in many areas of society, ranging from the migration of peoples, to the acceptance of a particular religion, to shifts in critical notions of "authenticity," to the stylistic innovations of some creative genius. Music might change from within its tradition, if the musicians have deliberately altered their performance practices, invented new musical instruments, or purposely affected the style of their music in some other way. Change might come from outside the tradition through contact with another culture, when foreign musical genres are imposed on a people (Christian hymns), or when certain traits of the foreign idiom (vocal styles) or whole genres (fiddle dance music) are adopted willingly. The folk and tribal musics of the world — in practice more conservative than popular musics — seem mostly affected by external change. Classical traditions, on the other hand, tend to exhibit internal changes. Sometimes the change

may represent a return to earlier practices to recover the original intention of the music. In the pursuit of more "authentic" performances, for example, the musical instruments of Europe's past have recently been reconstructed according to our historical knowledge of their former properties — their exact shapes, sizes and materials of manufacture. Museum specimens of Baroque harpsichords are today carefully measured and copied so that performers can replicate the sounds of that period rather than relying on 19th century pianos to produce them, as was customary until recently.

When change occurs in tribal music, the combination of new and old musical traits results in hybrid styles of music. When Indian peoples were (sometimes forcibly) taught to sing Christian hymns, missionaries translated the texts into the Native tongue. They allowed the hymns to be sung in unison (that is, without harmonies) to facilitate learning. In so doing they created a hybrid form — albeit one that was linguistically unchallenging and musically acceptable to Native ears accustomed to unison singing of Indian melodies. Of primary importance to the missionaries were the musical and religious meanings expressed in tunes and texts — European in origin and foreign to Indian cultures.

These new, Native hymns became a powerful tool in attempts to convert Indians to Christianity. They were particularly well received by southeastern tribes forcibly removed to Indian Territory in the 1830s. In a state of extreme culture shock, many of them abandoned traditional life-

"The Changing Soundscapes in Indian Country," co-sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian, will result in an exhibition to be presented in 1994 at the new George Gustav Heye Center of the National Museum of the American Indian in New York City. This program has been supported by the government of Nicaragua and a generous grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds.



Above: This set of three hide rattles of the Ojibway medicine lodge were used by medicine men and medicine women to accompany songs in initiation and curing ceremonies of the Grand Medicine Lodge. They were collected ca. 1907 on the Red Lake Reservation in northern Minnesota. Photo courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

Right: An Ojibway medicine man performs funeral songs for the deceased enroute to interment in northern Minnesota. Formerly his rattle would have been made of birchbark or hide; here a baking powder can has been adapted for the purpose. Photo by Charles Brill



ways and belief systems, taking up the new religion and its music to address a spiritual crisis. Once in Indian repertoires, however, some translated European texts were set to traditional Native melodies or even new tunes created for them by Indian composers using Indian tonal systems. In performing these hymns, Indian people continued to use their own vocal style. Their characteristically flat, nasal delivery with its glissandi and, to European ears, "imperfect" intonation contrasted markedly with the European *bel canto* ideal of singing, with its vocal vibrato and clear attack of musical pitches. This hybrid tradition of Christian hymn singing in Indian languages continues today, especially among the Choctaw, Cherokee, Comanche and Kiowa, some performed without instrumental accompaniment in unison or in two- three- or four-part harmonies.

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The Post-Columbian Period

European exploration and colonization of the Western Hemisphere set into motion changes that affected every aspect of Indian culture including music. Indian exposure to European music, especially that of the church, was early. In the wake of Cortés's conquest of Mexico in 1519, the Spanish made immediate efforts to Christianize the Native peoples, building countless small churches and cathedrals, importing musical instruments from Spain to accompany the Mass, and training Indians to sing. As early as 1530 a small organ from Seville was installed in the Cathedral of Mexico City to accompany Indian choirs. Efforts to train Indians to play a variety of European instruments for church services apparently became so excessive that in 1561 Phillip II complained in a *cedula* (royal decree) about the mounting costs of supporting the musicians. He cited the large number of players of trumpets, clarions, *chimiras* (oboe-like reed instruments), flutes, sackbuts and other instruments and requested a reduction in the number of Indians being paid for such services. As the Spanish moved northward into present-day New Mexico, similar practices are recorded. At Hawikuh



Muscogee Creek Stomp Dancers compete in a powwow in Oklahoma. The woman on the right wears the traditional turtle shell rattles bunched around the ankle, the woman on the left the more recent variety of ankle rattle made from milk cans. This modern adaptation is preferred by some dancers because the rattles are lighter weight and produce a louder sound. Milk can rattles are usually excluded from ceremonial Stomp Dances. Photo courtesy Muscogee (Creek) Nation

(Zuni), the pueblo used as Coronado's first headquarters, in the 1630s a Franciscan was giving intensive instruction to Indians in organ, bassoon, cornett, Gregorian chant and counterpoint.

Indians quickly became proficient in making a wide range of instruments. At first they began making flutes but went on to construct *vihuelas* (guitars), lutes and even pipe organs, under Spanish supervision. It soon became unnecessary to import instruments from Spain. In summing up the 16th century musical activities of Indians in New Spain, Frey Juan de Torquemada wrote in his *Monarquía Indiana* (Seville 1615): "The other instruments which serve for solace or delight on secular occasions are all made here by the Indians, who also play them: rebecs, guitars, trebles, viols, harps, monochords."

The English and French were equally active in their New World colonies in exposing Indian peoples to their musical traditions. Thomas Heriot in *A briefe and true report of the new found land* (London 1588) wrote of the local Indian chief on Roanoke Island, that he "would be glad many times to be with vs at praiers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as also in others whither he sometimes accompanied vs, to pray

and sing in Psalmes." By 1648 John Eliot was translating metrical psalms into the language of "the praying Indians" at Natick in Massachusetts. Hymnals in the Native tongues continued to be published throughout the 19th century, particularly by the American and the Presbyterian Boards of Foreign Missions. An Iroquoian hymnal *Gaa Nah shoh* (1860) was created for use by the Seneca at Cattaraugus Reservation, while a Siouan hymnal *Dakota Odowan* (1879) went through several printings. Asher Wright and his wife, who collated the Iroquoian hymns, induced the Indians to sing them to the accompaniment of a melodeon, which had been donated by a Sunday school in Massachusetts. At the Indians' insistence (according to the Wrights), they set the melodeon up in the middle of the longhouse — the traditional Iroquoian religious structure — "where by the grateful young people, who loved it as a human being, it was gorgeously decorated with hemlock boughs and a profusion of red berries." Some Christianized Indians went on to become hymnal collators themselves. Thomas Commuck, a Narragansett, published a Methodist hymnal in 1845 containing tunes claimed to be Native in origin and variously attributed to famous chiefs (Pontiac, Tecumseh) or such



Oglala Dakota dancers and musicians pause during a Grass Dance. Indians first encountered marching band drums in the military bands on frontier outposts. Photo courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

tribes as the Flathead, Osage, Algonquin and others. In the publication the melodies were set to harmonic accompaniment by Thomas Hastings.

As would be expected, European secular music was also brought to the new colonies, and Indians had ample opportunity to hear it. Marin Merseme in his *Harmonie universelle* . . . (Paris 1636) could state that Indians were already singing the songs of French fur traders living among them. In 1655 Claude Dablon (b. 1619) traveled from Quebec to Iroquois country and brought with him several musical instruments he had mastered as a youth. Although it is not recorded which instrument he played for them, the Indians are reported to have crowded the missionaries' bark hut to hear Dablon "make the wood talk." The trader John Adair, living 40 years among the southeastern tribes in the late 18th century, was accustomed to singing such Irish tunes as *Sheela na gura* to his Indian friends. Song schools sprung up throughout New England for itinerant singing masters to teach not only colonists but also Indians to read music and sing in harmony. In the 1760s, Eleazar Wheelock at his Indian Charity School in what is now Connecticut taught his Delaware pupils to perform in three-part harmony. These schools quickly made fluent sight-singers of the Indians, having introduced them to the totally foreign concepts of musical notation and polyphony, which contrasted with the oral tradition of uni-

son singing they were accustomed to.

Not all exposure to European music took place in the New World, however. Indians were brought back to France to perform in Parisian court entertainments such as *Ballet de la Reine* (1609), which included pastoral American scenes. Apparently a sensation was caused when a naked Tupinambá Indian was introduced on stage in the score of *Ballet de l'Amour de ce Temps* (1620), and the famous composer Lully incorporated Indian actors into several ballets performed before Louis XIV.

Adaptation and Adoption

Through long and constant exposure to European culture, Indian people not only absorbed foreign vocal repertoires, but sometimes altered their musical instruments as well. One of the hallmarks of Native music in the Western Hemisphere is the almost universal accompaniment of unison singing to percussion provided by the singers or dancers. Of all percussion, rattles and drums have always been the most commonly used. Contact with European cultures affected both types of percussion, but in different ways, as Indian people adapted material items from the foreign culture. In the case of rattles, the greatest change was in the nature of the vessel and the loose material inside that struck the container to produce the sound. An example of this kind of change occurred sometime early in the 20th century in the western Great Lakes area. Formerly,



Red Lake and Ontario Ojibway singers perform with a marching band bass drum in the back of a pick-up truck in a July 4th parade (1969). The boxes of soft drinks have been donated by local merchants as part of this reenactment of the traditional Ojibway Begging Dance. Photo by Charles Brill

the rattle used in religious ceremonies of the Ojibway (Chippewa) medicine lodge was made of bark or hide formed into a cylindrical vessel, filled with pebbles and sewn shut with spruce roots before a wooden handle was inserted. Once Euro-American canned goods became available to Indians, however, it eventually became commonplace to substitute metal containers, usually a baking powder can, for natural materials. Instead of pebbles, buckshot might be used to produce the sound. The shape of the rattle remained the same, but the materials used in its manufacture and the resultant sound changed — apparently not enough to be rejected aesthetically. (The Winnebago, Ojibway neighbors to the south, continue to use traditional gourd rattles in their medicine lodge and jokingly assert that the Ojibway have abandoned tradition and are now using beer cans for rattles!)

Rattles accompany the Stomp Dance, common among southeastern tribes. Traditional Stomp Dance music is cast in a call-and-response pattern: the leader of a line of dancers sings a brief melodic phrase, and the dancers repeat it exactly or answer it with a similar phrase. Although the leader carries a rattle in his hand, most of the percussion in the Stomp Dance is produced by vessel rattles made of turtle shells tied in bunches around the calves of the dancers. Their stomp-like dance steps produce the rattling sound from pebbles inside the turtle carapaces. In this century, however, many Stomp

dancers have begun to substitute milk cans for the turtle shells; they are easier to come by and simpler to make rattles from, and many feel that the sound is even enhanced in volume and quality.

Pre-contact drums were usually made from logs hollowed by charring and scraping, with animal skins stretched over their openings for drumheads. To be sure, this type of drum continues to be made — the large, two-headed cottonwood drums of Pueblo peoples, for instance. But when the Grass Dance with its ritually prescribed large drum spread to northern Plains Indians in the late 1800s, they found it expedient simply to substitute the commercially available marching band drum, long familiar to them from military bands on frontier outposts. To perform Indian music using this drum, they merely turned it on its side so that the singers could surround it. Today such drums with their plastic heads are commonplace, and Indian singing groups usually decorate them by painting Indian designs or motifs of the name of the group on the exposed head. But, in yet another change, a rejection of the marching band drum and a return to building drums the traditional way appears to be part of a general musical revitalization in Indian Country.

Adoption and Juxtaposition

One European folk instrumental tradition adopted by Indian people throughout North America was fiddle music. The Indians learned fiddle-playing and step-dancing from French fur



Fiddle and guitar players entertain in an Ojibway berry-picking camp in northern Minnesota, September 1937. Photo by Russell Lee, courtesy Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress

traders throughout the Great Lakes region beginning in the 1600s. Later, settlers from Ireland and Scotland, who did trapping in the 1700s and lumberjacking in the 1800s, brought their fiddle repertoires as far west as the Athabaskan interior of Alaska, where Indian people maintain them today. Inter-marriage between Europeans and Indians accelerated the acceptance of European instrumental and dance traditions.

The Saturday night square dance began to challenge Indian as well as Christian religious ideals. Traditional Ojibway medicine lodge ceremonies, customarily lasting several days, found their attendance dwindling as people took time off to attend local square dances. A Catholic missionary to the Menominee was reported to have chopped to pieces a fiddle belonging to one of his parishioners, telling him that he would never play "the devil's instrument" another Saturday night.

Many Indians developed their fiddle talents while working in lumberjack camps. Others were self-taught, spending spare moments in the woods practicing. In all-Indian logging camps, square-dance callers would perform in the Native tongue, and the repertoire of fiddle tunes often included Indian compositions whose titles were derived from names of Indian settlements or activities. Fiddlers at the west end of Lake Huron, for example, played "Manitoulin Island Waltz," named after an island reservation in that lake; Algonquian speakers on the St. Mary's River had a tune "Whitefish on the Rapids," referring to the great fishery between Lake Superior and Lake Huron, which for centuries provid-

ed an important subsistence staple for Indians living nearby.

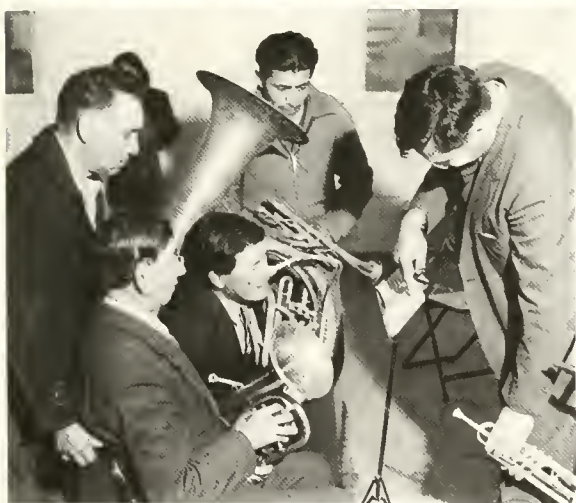
Most Indian fiddles were of European manufacture, but some were homemade from cigar boxes and fishline, and others were modified in some way to make them "Indian." In his film "Medicine Fiddle" (1991) Michael Loukinen interviewed a number of western Great Lakes performers, who provided some of the rich lore surrounding their fiddle traditions. One man told of his deceased father who converted a store-bought \$15 fiddle to Indian use; to make it louder he put porcupine quills inside the fiddle's body and attached a deerbone to its neck. Having applied his "Indian medicine" to the instrument, he allowed no one to touch it. Some Indians interviewed on film told stories about chance encounters with horned people playing fiddles in the woods or abandoned cabins. Because drawings of horns on human heads in Great Lakes pictography traditionally signified spiritual power, the horned performers may be understood as spirits, although in this instance there may also be the concept of the fiddle as the "devil's instrument."

A number of distinct Indian fiddle traditions began with this culture contact. Thus we find Indian fiddling contests today among the Cherokee of Oklahoma and among interior Athabaskans of Alaska, a *métis* ("mixed") French-Ojibway-Cree style on the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota, and a slightly different Red River style further north in Manitoba among the Saulteaux, where fiddlers jig with their feet while playing. There are also fiddlers among the Houma of Louisiana and the Apache of Arizona, which is the only tribe also to have an indigenous one-string fiddle of its own, totally unrelated to the European variety and used for playing traditional Apache music.

Another tradition of Euro-American culture that was adopted by Indian people was the symphonic (mostly brass) band. This was a late 19th century emulation of Anglo culture: as small towns had athletic teams and marching bands to perform on July 4th in parades or under pavilions, so did many reservations. Just as baseball supplanted lacrosse in many Indian communities, so the marching band grew in importance at the expense of Native musical events. Many learned to play trumpets, trombones and clarinets by attending primarily Anglo schools; others, in all-Indian boarding schools, had band performance imposed upon them as part of their programmed acculturation to deprive them of



Above: The Onondaga Castle Cornet Band, founded in 1862, was typical of Indian groups adopting the instruments and repertoires of the late 19th century concert band. Their costumes reflect pan-Indianisms, combining Iroquois with modified Plains elements, such as the stereotyped war bonnet. Photo by Fred R. Colcott, courtesy Onondaga County Parks Office of Museums & Historical Sites



Left: Ojibway from l'Anse, Michigan, receive musical instruction on band instruments from WPA music teacher Herbert Welsh. Photo courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

their Indian musical heritage, just as they were forbidden to speak their Native tongue or dress in tribal attire. Further erosion of traditional Indian music on some reservations was aided by the government's free band instruction as part of the WPA program in the 1930s.

In Mexico and Central America the various *banda* (band) traditions were adopted by Indian communities from the dominant *mestizo* culture. Their repertoire continues to include *marchas*, *pasodobles* and other compositions arranged and

scored by late 19th century composers — the Spanish equivalents of John Phillip Sousa. Many of the performers were musically illiterate and had to learn the music by ear. Most of them lacked music teachers, so their techniques of playing and the tones they achieve from self-developed performance styles on clarinets, trumpets and trombones do not produce the polished, in-tune, dynamically controlled sounds we are accustomed to. These features of Anglo performance style are absent, and certain Indian

aesthetic qualities of banda music might offend us, but they please their audiences. Banda schools have in fact become cultural institutions in Indian communities, such as in Oaxaca, where rural Zapotec Indian children sometimes live in banda communities away from their families. The town banda has become part of Indian cultural identity for these people — one which distinguishes one Indian community from another. Furthermore, the Zapotec banda has social prestige within the community and functions much like an artisans' guild. In the *tequio* system of social organization, members of the banda are exempt from such communal responsibilities as roadbuilding, to which all others in the town owe their services. The banda members' performance at all secular fiestas and religious feasts and processions is considered their paramount duty to society.

While band traditions have been transmitted mostly through oral tradition in Indian communities, the mass information media of the dominant society have played a key role in introducing Indians to the latest in Euro-American musical forms. Rapid changes in 20th century technology have had a dramatic effect on music in Indian Country. Through exposure, first to radio, then the phonograph and television, Indian people have been bombarded with the musical culture of the dominant society for decades. Rather than passive consumers of American popular music, they have adopted many of the styles and musical instruments commonly found in Euro-American society. In some instances they have adapted them to their own musical traditions; in others, they have accepted them along with the associated musical genres. Thus throughout Indian Country today one finds older traditions of non-Indian origin functioning as contemporary popular music as well as the latest forms of Anglo popular music used by Indian people for a variety of purposes.

Take, for instance, a prevalent style of dance music called *waila*, performed in southern Arizona by its creators, the Tohono O'odham (formerly known as Papago). Waila is also called "Chicken Scratch" by some — comparing the way dancers kick back their feet on the hard, dry, dusty ground to the way a chicken searches for food. The music is clearly derived from Mexican and Anglo neighbors of the O'odham; parts of the tradition had already formed a syncretized style by the mid-19th century. German and Czech settlers along the Texan Rio Grande brought European button accordions with them

in the 19th century to play the polka traditions of the Old World. The accordions as well as the polka repertoires and styles were in turn taken up by Mexican performers, and a new music called *norteño* emerged. Scholars believe this music reached the O'odham by about 1850, when it began to be performed by an ensemble of fiddles and guitars (introduced by missionaries) with a rhythmic accompaniment of snare and bass drums, each played by a different individual. Eventually this ensemble changed its character and sound: the contemporary button accordion was adopted, and saxophones, whose playing techniques were learned in high school bands, replaced the fiddles in the 1950s and 1960s. Today's waila rhythm section includes an electric guitar, bass and traps (a set of drums and cymbals played by one man). Folklorist James S. Griffith comments on the irony of this phenomenon: "Thus the two great institutional attempts at changing Tohono O'odham culture — the Spanish mission system and the Indian schools — are reflected in, of all things, the organization of O'odham popular dance bands!"¹

"Chicken Scratch" bands typically perform a set of tunes in succession, moving from a waila (a fast tempo polka), to a two-step *chotis*, to a *cumbia*, a Caribbean borrowing. Occasionally they include a waltz or a mazurka. Like most Indian music the tradition is an oral one, not learned or read from score. Some of the tunes are quite old, while others have been taken from commercial recordings of Mexican *norteño* groups. Some popular American melodies, such as "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer" have been incorporated into the repertoire.

Waila music has by no means replaced older O'odham music. Like musics of many American Indians, the traditional O'odham repertoire consists principally of unison songs accompanied by percussion — either rattles, or a notched rasp using an inverted basket drum as resonator. Such traditional instruments are used in the semi-sacred *chelkoma*, or "skipping and scraping" dance, performed to induce rainfall in their desert homeland by lines of male and female dancers with special costumes and body paint in cloud and lightning designs. Also traditional is the *keihma*, a round dance which, though somewhat social in nature, is still thought to bring rain, as the dancers stamp vigorously on the ground to encourage rainclouds to appear.

¹James S. Griffith, *Southern Arizona Folk Arts* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1988), p. 72.



Yaqui *Pascola* dancers wearing cocoon rattles around their calves perform to the music of a folk harp and folk fiddle. *Photo by James S. Griffith*



In the Deer Dance of the Yaqui, music is supplied by a *tampelo* — the player of a small flute and a hand-drum (on the far right) — and three singers seated on the ground using water drums and rasps. *Photo by James S. Griffith*

While this religious repertoire remains intact, waila bands perform Saturday night social music, thus functioning as a popular music tradition for most O'odham.

While the O'odham and most other Native peoples of North America carefully separate their traditional sacred music from evolved, European-influenced secular forms such as waila, there are isolated examples where the two have been juxtaposed. This has occurred in the *Pascola*/Deer Dance complex, a traditional religious practice of Yaqui Indians still in Sonora, Mexico, and of those in southern Arizona, who fled persecution by the Mexican government in the late 19th century. The history of the Yaqui helps explain the evolution of the *Pascola*/Deer Dance celebration. During the Spanish conquest of Mexico in the early 17th century, an expedition against the Yaqui in 1610 was defeated by the tenacious Indians. Possibly as a strategy against further military action by the Spaniards, the Yaqui requested that missionaries be sent to live among them. Two Jesuits settled in their territory in 1617, and gradually a type of ceremonialism developed that syncretized Indian and Christian elements, such as is evident in the *Pascola*/Deer Dance complex.

The ritual is performed at fiestas to honor God and certain saints. It consists of successive performances by two musical ensembles — the first reflecting European musical traditions, the other exclusively Native ones. The transition between them, however, is not marked, as one flows into the other. The performance begins to the accompaniment of a folk harp and folk fiddle, both modeled after classical European counterparts and offering clear evidence that the Indians began to copy Spanish Renaissance string instruments shortly after the Cortés invasion. The players are seated on chairs, and the style of their music is decidedly European, although Indian interpretation of European tonalities and counterpoint are evident, and performance techniques are more folk than classical. Dancers for both the *Pascola* and Deer Dances wear cocoon rattles strung around their calves — clearly an indigenous musical instrument. *Pascola* dancers wear masks positioned to one side of the head rather than over the face.

Once the *Pascola* part of the ritual has concluded, the completely Native musical ensemble begins. A *tampelo* begins to beat a small hand drum with a stick while simultaneously playing a three-hole flageolet. The other musicians are three males seated on the ground — an Indian

tradition — playing a water drum and using rasps with scrapers and resonators. They perform songs with poetic texts in an archaic form of the Yaqui language unintelligible to most Yaqui today. Meanwhile, the dancer removes a sistrum rattle (Native) that had been tucked in his belt during the *Pascola* section of performance and relocates the mask to cover his face. A Deer dancer, wearing a deer's head atop his own, begins his dance and completes the flow from music of Spanish origin to a probably older Native tradition.

The Changing Soundscape

Waila, brass bands, *Pascola* music and that of other Indian string ensembles are examples of external traditions syncretized in the past by Indian peoples with their own styles of performance. But today on Indian reservations and in urban Indian communities one also encounters groups playing country and western music, rhythm and blues, and even forms of jazz fusion.

During the period of American social unrest in the late 1960s, the figure of the “protest singer” with an acoustic guitar emerged, not only in Anglo society but in Indian Country as well. Paralleling Anglo counterparts, Indian protest singers created songs depicting a wide range of social injustices visited upon Indian peoples. Performers such as the Dakota singer, Floyd Westerman and the Cree, Buffy St. Marie, began to compose, perform publicly and eventually record an Indian repertoire not unlike that of Pete Seeger or Peter, Paul and Mary. But the issues they articulated resonated principally with Indian audiences, since it was they who were injured by the dominant society's despoilment of the environment, governmental interference in Indian affairs, poverty on the reservation and its attendant social ills like alcoholism and suicide, as well as past injuries inflicted on Indian people. Westerman's album “Custer Died for Your Sins” in the early 1970s — its title a double-barbed missionary and military irony — became a best seller among Indians overnight. The sarcasm characteristic of in-group Indian humor is also reflected in the names contemporary Indian ensembles choose for themselves. Expropriating Anglo stereotypes, an Onondaga blues band from upstate New York calls itself “White Boy and the Wagon Burners” (the keyboardist is non-Indian), and a rock group from Phoenix with members of several tribes — Navajo, Ojibway, Menominee, Hopi and Blackfoot — is named “Wild Band of Indians.”



Mohican composer Brent Michael Davids performs on one of several crystal flutes he invented. Among his compositions are pieces for synthesizer and for jazz/fusion ensembles, and a dance score, "Moon of the Falling Leaves," recently performed by New York City's Joffrey Ballet. Photo courtesy Brent Michael Davids

The tradition of protest song continues in Indian Country and is reflected in the repertoires of many performers at this year's Festival. While the message is much the same as in the 1960s, its vehicle has changed: the lyrics of satirical songs performed on electric instruments in blues ensembles comment on political power ("Everyone is white at the White House"), or on constant harassment of Indians from law enforcement officials ("Please Mr. Officer, let me explain, I got to get to a powwow tonight"), or the arbitrary mapping of Indian lands by government planners that results in social upheaval ("Someone drew a line"). The Bureau of Indian Affairs is an especially favorite target of Indian protest singers, who perceive its Native bureaucrats as entrenched, self-serving and worthy of the appellation "the true Washington Redskins."

The program of American Indian music at this year's Festival represents as broad a range as possible of *non*-traditional musics being performed today on reservations and in urban Indian communities. The curators felt it appropriate in the year of the Quincentenary to demonstrate some of the musical repercussions in Indian Country of the initial Columbian "encounter." Many of our performers come from very conservative Indian backgrounds; some are even religious practitioners, maintaining and providing the music required for ancient ceremonies. But some chose to go beyond the traditional music they were brought up with, to adopt other styles, to take up non-Indian musical instruments, to

create songs with English texts in a contemporary idiom and to perform before non-Indian as well as Indian audiences. This musical direction is a relatively recent development, which probably began with the protest singers of the 1960s.

Some performers at the Festival have chosen their musical direction as a means of "getting the Indian message across." This incentive is well expressed by the Onondaga singer, Joanne Shenandoah, in a recent statement entitled "1991: The Year of the Native American," as she describes how she became a protest singer and active composer:

As a Native person brought up surrounded by non-Indians I ached to find a way to communicate my history to my American friends; perhaps . . . a popular film, or a top 40 song about Indians which would give us the basis for discussing a different reality than the one they had come to believe was paramount in the world . . . For a society extraordinarily dependent upon the media for its perceptions and beliefs . . . it is necessary to remove the stereotypes which have for so long kept [Indian people] down. Presently, there are many Indian performers on the road and in the studio. They are filming, dancing and recording, ever hopeful their work will finally be taken seriously; that they will be given the chance to show the world we are



The blues/rock band, "White Boy and the Wagon Burners," from the Onondaga Reservation near Syracuse, New York, performs at an informal open-air concert. Photo by Richard Puchyr

more than images from times past. . . . Their music is creative, lively, and rooted in their ancient traditions. It isn't all drums around a fire. Give us a listen and watch as we peel away your misconceptions. (Promotional flyer 1991)

Others present the music they were brought up with. Although European origins may be discernible in what they do or play, it is *Indian* music, played by and for Indian people. Thus waila functions as a popular idiom for the O'odham on a Saturday night in Arizona, as does country and western, or blues in bars or nightclubs on or near reservations in other parts of North America, or marimba or brass bands in small town festivals throughout Mexico and Central America. Because music is never static, traditions continue to evolve, and we can certainly expect further changes in the soundscape of Indian Country.

Suggested Listening

Because of the many recordings available, readers should consult catalogues from Canyon Records and Indian House Records, where evolved forms of Indian music are usually listed as "contemporary."

Canyon Records
4143 N. 16th St.
Suite 1
Phoenix, AZ 85016

Indian House Records
P.O. Box 172
Taos, NM 87571

Suggested Viewing

"Medicine Fiddle," 1991, 81 minutes, color video. Producer-director Michael Loukinen. Up North Films, 331 TEA, Northern Michigan University, Marquette, MI 49855

A Hopi in Two Musical Worlds

Jacob Coin

When our people first emerged onto this, the Fourth World, they came upon Massau, guardian of this world. Our people asked to live here and were given permission to do so with certain conditions. Massau instructed that to live here we must adopt four basic guides for our lives. First, we must have *na'wakinpi* (prayer), a way of communicating with our Creator. Second, we must have *tup'lsuni* (a religion) for spiritual guidance. Third, Massau said we must have *ka'tsi* (a culture), a way of life that distinguishes us from others. Finally, Massau said we must have *navo'li* (prophesy) to guide our people into the future.

Massau might also have instructed the people that to live in balance in the Fourth World, we must have music and song as a vehicle for integrating the four basic guides into our lives. As long as humanity has been here, music and song have been a primary means of teaching and learning the ways of the Fourth World.

As a young boy, I came to expect songs of the kachina to be a vehicle for learning the ways of the Hopi. Their songs told of the virtues of waking before sunrise and giving prayers; of having a good heart and respect for the environment and all living things. We understand that these virtues and others are basic to the Hopi way. At a young age all Hopi learn that teaching is one of the many roles music and song have in traditional Hopi life.

Universally among Indians, music is a part of the social environment, a medium for teaching the ways of tribal life, and a means of passing tribal and clan histories from one generation to the next. It is an instrument for learning the natural order of the world and of the universe and for understanding humanity's relationship with the earth and other living things. Indian people

use music and song as a guide and a gauge for social conscience; music and song keep tribal mores and social expectations visible for all of the people. Music has certainly always been a key to spiritual growth among Indian and Native peoples. Above all, music is an invaluable entertainment medium and food for the heart and soul for all mankind.

For the most part, contemporary Indian and other Native musicians and songwriters accept and remain true to the traditional roles of music. For the contemporary Native musician, music is more than simply entertainment. Like their ancestors, today's Native artists agree that a commitment to music in its role as teacher is an important responsibility to be upheld.

Being a Hopi Indian and a musician/songwriter, I find guidance and inspiration for my music in traditional Hopi roots. I experiment with a matrix of techniques in using traditional Native musical forms and styles to create contemporary songs. In the end, I believe that traditional music and contemporary music are extensions of each other. The primary challenge is to bridge the gap between traditional and modern music effectively.

I have tried to do this by three methods. First, I pull the meaning of a traditional song into a contemporary piece by translating the song's lyrics into English and then composing a melody and defining a beat that conveys the meaning of the song as it was originally intended by the traditional composer. This is perhaps the easiest method, since it amounts to composing new music for existing lyrics without having to be faithful to the all-important original melody.

Second, I score a traditional song in its entirety for Western instrumentation, including guitar, piano, vocals, and the like. In this process

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Members of a group of *Pai-a-kya-mûh*, or Tewa clowns, one of the priesthood fraternities at Walpi, Hopi Reservation, appear to be adjusting regalia. In place of masks, these clowns wear close-fitting white caps with long horns tufted with corn husks. Among their duties is to sprinkle corn pollen on kachinas to honor Mas-sau. Photo ca. 1891, courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

I try to be faithful to the original melody, which is often difficult because traditional songs are composed solely for voice, and instrumentation often cannot exactly replicate notes produced by the human voice.

Third, I weave traditional songs together with contemporary musical forms, allowing both to express themselves in the composition. This practice is most innovative — and preferred — since it allows an artist complete freedom to create new music and new songs utilizing both influences.

For the most part, the drum was the primary instrument for Native music. Over time, drums were supplemented with flutes and rattles of various kinds. As the use of these instruments evolved, so did traditional music. The pattern of this evolution is created by traditional music's continual reaching out to embrace its developing contemporary relative.

Today, other instruments besides the drum have become accepted vehicles for the musical thoughts of Native artists. Guitar and other stringed instruments, flutes and various percussion instruments have become the norm in the orchestration of contemporary Native songs.

What would really rock (and shock!) our ancestors would be the revolution brought by electrified instruments and electronic special effects. Of all Native musicians and songwriters, Keith Secola (Ojibwa) of Phoenix, Arizona and Buddy Red Bow (Oglala Sioux) of Pine Ridge, South Dakota, have been most successful in

maintaining the integrity of Native sound patterns while expanding on them with electric instrumentation and special effects.

Ronald Smith of Minneapolis, Minnesota, a Mandan-Hidatsa traditional singer/composer with the Eagle Whistle Drum, suggests that the inevitable evolution of music, both Native and contemporary, is a good reflection of social change at any given time. Without judging it, Ron describes today's music as a snapshot of society. According to Ron, the evolution of Indian music reflects the dynamism of Indian peoples — "We are not a people even close to extinction."

Has traditional music changed? It has really evolved. Traditional music has reached out and touched the 21st century. The fortunate result for both worlds is that Native musicians still understand and value the many social roles of music. Native musicians will continue to compose songs that have meaning, that have their genesis in traditional ideas and inspirations. Native musicians are to be recognized, just as their ancient predecessors have been, as teachers of thought conveyed through music and song.

Massau surely knew the importance of music in the Fourth World. He would never have insisted on people having Prayer, Religion, Culture and Prophecy without assuming music as a medium for carrying them forward. Good for us, music continues to fill our hearts and minds with the good things of the Fourth World.

Cherokee Hymn Singing in Oklahoma

Charlotte Heth

Background

The Christianization of a majority of the members of the Cherokee Nation has spawned hymns and gospel songs — new kinds of Indian music. Cherokees' interaction with Whites and Blacks on the continually moving frontier also brought fiddle and guitar music to them. The older Native religious life, and the ceremonial music and dance associated with it, suffered from the changes in this period and has survived to a greater or lesser extent in rural pockets of Oklahoma and North Carolina.

Today approximately 90% of the Native speakers of the Cherokee language in northeastern Oklahoma are Christian. In Cherokee Christian churches, music plays as important a role as the doctrine preached. While both Cherokees and missionaries adapted some songs directly from Protestant models, others appear unique. All are sung in Cherokee, and the translations often do not match their English counterparts, when such counterparts exist.

Sequoyah, a Cherokee man, invented a syllabary for writing his language that was officially adopted by the Cherokee Nation in 1821. Thereafter, official documents, newspapers, letters, gravestones, magical and medicinal formulas, hymnbooks, Bibles, almanacs, minutes of meetings, and public and private records were kept in Cherokee along with (or frequently without) their English versions. America's first Indian newspaper, the bilingual *Cherokee Phoenix*, appeared February 21, 1828, edited by Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee, who was assisted by Samuel A. Worcester, a missionary. Today the majority of extant materials from the 19th century printed in Cherokee deal with Christian topics.

The first Cherokee hymnbook was printed in 1829 and underwent many subsequent revisions and editions. In all of its editions, the texts are in the Cherokee syllabary without translation into

English, and except for a few temperance songs, musical notation is absent. The tunes themselves have been handed down now for 160 years or more without ever having been written down. In 1846 the *Cherokee Singing Book*, conceived and compiled by Worcester with the help of Lowell Mason, was published in Boston with four-part harmonic settings and Cherokee texts. A close check of these tunes with those used today by the Cherokees in Oklahoma shows no correspondence. Although many of the tunes in the singing book are used by Cherokees (such as "Old Hundred"), the texts associated with them are different from those proposed by Worcester in 1846. There are several Cherokee hymns and gospel songs whose words and music have never appeared in print.

In one of the most recent editions of the *Cherokee Hymn Book* (first published in 1877), there are 132 hymns, 5 doxologies and 3 temperance songs. In addition to the published hymn texts, there are new songs being composed constantly for Cherokee "sings," or assemblies in which a *capella* quartets and choirs, particularly family groups, share their music.

One can find original Cherokee hymnals (from 1829-1962) in the Huntington, Newberry, Gilcrease, University of Tulsa, Northeastern Oklahoma State University, and Oklahoma University Libraries, and the Library of Congress. For the most part, succeeding editions in the 19th century are duplications or expansions of preceding ones. Two 20th-century editions located are printed in typefaces different from that of their predecessors and were never widely

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J.B. Dreadfulwater leads his Cherokee Indian Baptist Choir in a performance of traditional, unaccompanied hymns in the Cherokee language, Hall of Musical Instruments, National Museum of American History, 1988. Photo by Laurie Minor-Penland, courtesy Smithsonian Institution

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HYMN 87. C. M.
Christ's Second Coming.

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Text for the hymn, "Christ's Second Coming," written in the Cherokee syllabary invented by Sequoyah in the early 19th century. The words are sung to the tune of "Amazing Grace" and appeared in the *Cherokee Hymn Book* (1878).

used. A popular version used today is reprinted from the original plates of the 1877 version. The missionary periodicals, *Cherokee Messenger* (1814-1846) and *Cherokee Gospel Tidings* (1898-1901), contain additional hymns.

The Music

The music itself is similar to Christian singing in Protestant churches, but with several important differences. The vocal quality is for the most part nasal and moderately tense, as are the sounds of the Cherokee language. The hymns usually have some breaks (glottal stops) and many sliding attacks and releases, features which also mimic the tonal Cherokee language. Undulating melodies and pentatonic scales are also popular in the hymns, with the slides and glides exaggerated by a slow tempo. The vocal line may be broken up with chorus echoes and responses.

Metric hymns find favor among the Cherokees: many tunes can be used for a single text, and conversely, many texts for a single tune. Much of this unaccompanied singing still has rhythmic vocal surges on accented beats.

Repetition, variation, and improvisation play an important part in each form. The hymns and gospel songs are for the most part strophic, as one might expect, but frequently several different tunes and texts are strung together in a song cycle. Often the singers choose to end with a quick double time section.

Two popular hymns, "One Drop of Blood"

and “Amazing Grace,” were sung on the Trail of Tears, the forced removal in the 1830s of the Cherokees from their eastern homelands to Indian Territory, now the state of Oklahoma. While “Amazing Grace” is familiar to most Christians, “One Drop of Blood” lives primarily in oral tradition. It has been copied and recopied for generations. A translation of the text is:

What can we do, Jesus, our King? He’s
already paid for us.
Our friends, we all must work.
Our King, Your place over which You are
King.
Our King, Your place over which You are
King.

The familiar hymn, “Amazing Grace,” contains words dealing with Christ’s Second Coming.

God’s Son, He paid for us.
Then to heaven He went, after He paid
for us.
But He spoke when He arose.
“I will come again,” He said.

The tradition of Christian hymnody among the Cherokees is among the oldest and best documented examples of change in Indian music brought about by contact with European culture. Other tribes forcibly removed to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) do have similar traditions — the Creek and Choctaw, for example. But the invention of the Cherokee syllabary in 1821 promoted Cherokee literacy and encouraged the spread of hymn singing among them at a time when their Native religion and culture were still viable. Because the first Cherokee hymnals contained

only texts, it is safe to assume that some melodies were already alive in Cherokee oral tradition before they were brought west in the 1830s. Cherokee hymns today — performed in church, at home and in “sings,” and printed in newsletters with stories about active family gospel quartets and small choirs, such as those directed by J.B. Dreadfulwater — continue to be an active tradition in northeastern Oklahoma.

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Making the White House Work

Marjorie A. Hunt

“I didn’t feel like a servant to a man. I felt I was a servant to my government, to my country.”

— Alonzo Fields, maitre d’

For nearly two centuries, since the time of John Adams, the White House has been the home of American presidents. A powerful national symbol, it is a uniquely private and public place — at once a family residence, a seat of the government, a ceremonial center and an historic building and museum.

Over the years, hundreds of people have worked behind the scenes to make the White House function, preparing family meals, serving elaborate State Dinners, polishing floors, tending the grounds and welcoming visitors. Today, a household staff of 96 full-time domestic and maintenance employees — including butlers, maids, engineers, housemen, chefs, electricians, florists, ushers, doormen, carpenters and plumbers — work together under one roof to operate, maintain and preserve the 132-room Executive Mansion.

In celebration of the 200th anniversary of the White House, the “Workers at the White House” program explores the skills and folklife of former White House workers — their occupational techniques, customs, values, experiences and codes of behavior. It examines the distinctive ways in which the White House, as a unique occupational setting, shapes work experience.

The living memory and firsthand experiences of the workers participating in this program span almost a century, 15 presidential

administrations, from the presidency of William Taft to that of George Bush. Several have worked at the White House for over 30 years, serving as many as ten first families. Lillian Parks, a 95-year-old former maid and seamstress, started working for President Hoover in 1929 and served through the Eisenhower administration; her memory of the White House goes back to 1909, when her mother, Maggie Rogers, joined the staff as a maid for President Taft. “I was 12 years old when I first started going to the White House with my mother,” she says, “and I’ve been in and out of the White House ever since.”

The oral histories and personal experiences of these workers offer valuable insights into how larger patterns of social change in the nation affected employees’ daily routines and work relationships. Alonzo Fields, a 92-year-old former maitre d’ who joined the staff in 1931, comments eloquently on what it was like to encounter segregation in the White House and how this situation changed over his 21 years of service. “They had separate dining rooms — Black and White. We all worked together, but we couldn’t eat together....Here in the White House, I’m working for the President. This is the home of the democracy of the world and I’m good enough to handle the President’s food — to handle the President’s food and do everything — but I can not eat with the help.” Preston Bruce, a share-

Workers at the White House has been made possible through the collaboration of the White House Historical Association, which has received funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the support of the Johnson Foundation (Trust) and the Smithsonian Institution Special Exhibition Fund.



Maitre d' Alonzo Fields and his staff of butlers, including Samuel Ficklin, John Pye and Armstead Barnett, stand ready to serve a tea during the Roosevelt administration. Photo courtesy Alonzo Fields



Maitre d' Alonzo Fields greets President and Mrs. Truman. Photo courtesy Harry S. Truman Library

cropper's son from South Carolina who worked as a doorman for 22 years, tells of the thrill he felt in seeing the struggle for civil rights from inside the White House. Others speak of how the various approaches of first families affected their ways of serving guests, conducting social events and interacting with staff.

All of the employees describe working at the White House as a unique experience where work, with its variety of staged events and backstage support for them, has a strong "performative" element. Butlers and chefs, for example,

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talk about how it is different from working in a luxury hotel or for a wealthy family, citing everything from security concerns to the high standards demanded by the realization that one's performance reflects on the president and the nation. "This is the president's house. You are serving the world, entertaining the world. It's got to be right," said Alonzo Fields. "You're working for the highest office in the land," said doorman Preston Bruce. "You know that whatever you do is going to affect the family upstairs." To work at the White House was to serve as a guardian of the national honor — this ethos informed work performances and behavior at every level.

While first families are only temporary residents at the White House, the household staff

"It's not a hotel, it's not a private home, it's not a museum. But on the other hand, it's all those things together."

— Alfredo Saenz, butler



Chef Henry Haller prepares a dinner in the White House kitchen. *Photo courtesy the White House*

are permanent employees. Many have been there for over 30 years. For these workers, the transition from one administration to the next is a difficult and challenging time. On Inauguration Day, they must say farewell to a family they have served for years and begin adjusting to new ways of doing and acting, new likes and dislikes, new routines of work. "You had to adapt. That's the thing that's paramount," said maitre d' Alonzo Fields, who experienced the dramatic shift in the White House from the formal elegance of the Hoovers to the exuberant informality of the Roosevelt family. Workers not only had to learn new routines, but had to build new relationships. "You must earn their trust," said Mr. Fields.

When a new president goes in there, he doesn't know his way around, and he's watching you. And you must assure him — you must assure him by body language — that you have no interest other than in him, in the presidency. You don't care who's president — you're working for the public. You're a servant to the public, just like he is.

Each job at the White House — butler, carpenter, calligrapher or cook — has a unique set of challenges, skills, tasks and responsibilities. Workers take pride in their abilities — the mastery of special techniques, the knowledge of work processes, the exercise of proper decorum. For a butler, serving a State Dinner requires not only precise timing and efficiency, but the ability to conduct oneself with social grace. "It's the presentation," said butler Norwood Williams. Door-men take pride in the way they treat people, prizing their ability to remember names and make White House guests feel comfortable. "I had my own style of receiving guests," said Preston Bruce. "I remembered everybody. I greeted all the



Plumber Howard Arrington crafted the elaborate metal stand for Tricia Nixon's wedding cake. *Photo courtesy Richard M. Nixon Library*

"We knew everybody. It was like a close-knit family. We worked together and saw each other everyday. Everyday you'd be crossing someone's path or working together on a project. And that's one of the hardest things — to leave that."

— Eugene Allen, maitre d'



White House workers get together for a party during the "Truman days." Photo courtesy Alonzo Fields

guests when they came to a State Dinner. If a person came more than one time, I didn't have to ask his name."

Workers speak of efforts to devise innovative systems for accomplishing tasks and the satisfaction of adding their own personal touch to the performance of their jobs. Preston Bruce, for example, perceived a need for a more efficient way to give escort cards to guests coming to formal events at the White House. Working together with carpenter Bommer Arrington, he designed a special table of the right height and size to hold all of the cards. Nearly 20 years later, it is still known as "Bruce's Table." Alonzo Fields tells of the challenge he faced trying to figure out how to produce "double-header" teas for Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mrs. Roosevelt, she had teas — five or six hundred a tea, twice in the same afternoon. There'd be a tea for 500 at

four o'clock and a tea for 500 at five o'clock. Now, you've got to serve those people and get them out of there. And there's no one there to tell you how to do it.

So one time I spoke to Mrs. Roosevelt. I said, 'Madam, how do you want this tea served?'

She says, 'Oh, I don't know. I've been told it can't be done. But that's what I want.'

....Now, I had traveled. I had played in bands. I had played in circus bands, and I had seen the tents and the rings torn down within five seconds and a new group come on in that same ring....And I said, 'I'll just produce this like I would a three-ring circus!' And that's what I did.

For everyone at the White House, qualities

Housekeeper Shirley Bender inspects a guest room. Photo by Joseph Scherschel, courtesy National Geographic Society

of discretion and loyalty, the ability to adapt to the different styles of successive first families, and a willingness to perform multiple duties were key work skills. "Hear nothing, know nothing, see nothing, and keep everything to yourself! That's the best quality of a good butler," said Alonzo Fields. "You've got to be flexible," said former maitre d' Eugene Allen. "You cannot get set in your ways, because your way is not the way it works!"

At the White House, a spirit of mutual support and teamwork pervades the workplace. Employees from many different units join together on a regular basis to help each other prepare for special events or accomplish tasks in daily work routines. A prime example of this cooperative spirit is a State Dinner, which requires the coordinated efforts of chefs, doormen, butlers, florists, carpenters, ushers and many others. "Everyone works like a team," said part-time butler Norwood Williams: "You have a crew that comes in and moves furniture and sets up tables. You have the cleaning staff, the storeroom person, the chefs, the flower shop. Even the carpenters' shop — they had to make some of those tables. You know how everyone pitches in at a circus? That's the way it's done."

Workers share stories of how they help one another meet the diverse responsibilities of their unique workplace. Plumber Howard Arrington, for example, proudly tells of how he was able to assist a pastry chef by using his metal-working skills to craft an elaborate structure to support Tricia Nixon's wedding cake.

Lillian Parks recounted an experience with a related set of themes.

I never knew from one day to the next what I'd be doing. One time, a fellow on the first floor said, 'We need you downstairs to sew a drapery in the Green Parlor.' Well, I picked up my needle and thread and I went down there. So they had this 11-foot ladder in there, and the drapery in the Green Room — way up at the top — was coming off. Now, I went up the ladder — two steps from the top — and all I had was this needle and



thread to hold me up there. And the housekeeper looked in there, and she said, 'This I don't want to see!' And she left. And Washington, the fellow who was holding the ladder, he had a coughing spell! He started to cough and he had to walk away....So you wonder why I'm still living!

In recollections by the household staff, themes of home, family and tradition run strong. Employees often speak of themselves as a "family" and of the White House as a "second home." Many of the workers are related and have held jobs passed down through generations. As a close-knit occupational community, workers share skills, customs and traditions that grow out of common experience and that are shaped by the unique demands, pressures and conditions of the workplace. They tell stories with job-related themes — about how they came to work at the White House, their first day on the job, their greatest challenges, funny incidents, memorable characters and relationships with first families. They share nicknaming traditions and take part



Eugene Allen, head butler and maitre d' at the White House for 34 years, sorts silverware in the pantry. Photo courtesy Gerald R. Ford Library

in employee customs like the annual Christmas party, the golf team and staff reunions. "We had a lot of fun with nicknames," said Lillian Parks. "Melvin Carter, he was small, and everybody used to call him 'Squirt.' I was 'Maggie's Little Girl' or 'Mama.' And Traphes was 'Paddlefoot' because he walked right flat-footed." "We had code names for the Presidents," writes Alonzo Fields in his published memoirs. "President Hoover, because he seldom smiled, we called 'Smiley.' President Roosevelt I gave the name 'Charlie Potatoes'.... President Truman, because of his outspoken manner, we coded as 'Billie Spunk.' Mr. Fields, himself, was nicknamed "Donald Duck" by the butlers who worked for him because of the way he sputtered and yelled when something went wrong. "We had a good time," said Lillian Parks. "People would say some of the funniest things, make you die. And *do* some funny things. There was never a dull day."

At the White House, workers often pass along knowledge of work techniques and routines, traditions of service and decorum, and other codes of behavior through word of mouth and by imitation and example. Experienced "old-timers" teach new generations of workers by telling stories and jokes, sharing personal experience, and demonstrating work methods. A critical body of accumulated knowledge and wisdom

resides in these workers who, over decades of change — as first families come and go — remain a key source of continuity at the White House. Acknowledged authorities on everything from where tea napkins are stored to how to welcome visiting dignitaries, they provide a valuable link between past and present. "When a new administration comes in they're just as in the dark as anybody else — they don't know what to do. So as butlers, we have been there. We can kind of carry them along; we can help them along," said John Johnson, a butler at the White House for 30 years. And Lillian Parks related, "After I retired, the usher called me and said, 'Lillian, I wish you'd come down here and straighten this house out!' It was all kind of mixed up....You see, I grew up in there. I knew how things worked." Through traditions of teaching and learning, a culture of White House work is humanized, maintained and adapted.

At the Festival, White House workers will come together to share their life and work with the public. Through their stories, values and experiences, they add a rich, human perspective to the historical record of a national institution.

Further Readings

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Workers at the White House

A Photo Essay by Roland Freeman



“It was just like a big family, a real big family.”

— Lillian Rogers Parks

In celebration of the 200th anniversary of the White House, the Festival of American Folklife presents a program about the occupational lives and folklore of White House workers. Through living presentations and demonstrations, this program reveals a human dimension of the White House, through the skills, values and experiences of the men and women who worked there. The following pages feature a few of the many employees — maids, butlers, engineers, chefs and others — who have helped to make the White House work and who will be sharing their lives and stories with visitors to the Festival.

Roland Freeman is a documentary photographer who does research in Black culture throughout the African Diaspora. Since 1972, he has been a field research photographer for the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife.

"I grew up in the White House. I was 12 years old when I first started going there with my mother, and I've been in and out of the White House ever since."



Lillian Rogers Parks, a 95-year-old former maid and seamstress, first began working in the White House with her mother in 1909, during the Taft administration.



Alonzo Fields, age 92, served as the chief butler and maitre d' at the White House for 21 years from the Hoover to the Eisenhower administration.

"When I was directing a dinner, I'd seat the President and step back and then give a nod to the men to start the service. From then on I was directing an orchestra. I had my strings here and my wind instruments in the back and I was directing. And people would watch and they'd marvel at it, they really did."



Eugene Allen started working in the White House as a pantryman for President Truman in 1952 and rose through the ranks to become chief butler and maitre d'. He retired in 1986 after serving 34 years with eight first families.

"I thought I knew how to serve, but the White House is different. Other places you can make mistakes and you don't feel so bad, but you don't feel like making mistakes for the President and First Lady.... All that was in the back of your mind when you were setting up for any activity."

"The word doorman is a misnomer. I didn't run outside and open doors and that was it. I greeted you and welcomed you to the White House. I made a show that I knew everyone that came in. And that made them feel a lot better."



Preston Bruce, a sharecropper's son from South Carolina, served as a White House doorman from the Eisenhower to the Ford administration.

“My job was to see that every floor was clean, every speck of dust was removed, that there was not a single flower petal on a mantle or table. And I was proud of that. I’d walk the House and walk and walk, just to make sure it was right.”



Benjamin Harrison worked as a houseman for 32 years from the Eisenhower to the Reagan White House. He retired in 1988 as house foreman.



Norwood Williams, a mail messenger from the Eisenhower to the Carter administration, still works as a part-time butler at the White House, a job he has performed for over 35 years.

“The messenger’s job is to get it there. We are the conveyor belts. If they don’t get it, they can’t act on it.”



Henry Haller, who served as executive chef from the Johnson to the Reagan administration, was known for his ability to adapt to the likes and dislikes of five different first families.

*“We chefs have a saying,
‘The guests must wait for the soufflé.’
But at the White House, the soufflé
waits for the guests.”*

*“There’s no place like
the White House. All the things
you do for a family out of your
line of work — anything they
wanted, from fixing a pocket-
book to moving furniture.”*



Former plumber Howard Arrington learned his trade in the White House, starting as a plumber's helper in 1946 and working his way up to become chief plumbing foreman, a position he held for 19 of his 34 years of service. He is pictured here with his grandson, Russell Pellicot.

“When you first go to work at the White House, you are all eyeballs. Honestly, for the first month, your eyes are as big as teacups. You just drink — you’re actually drinking in history and current events.”



Russell Free worked as an engineer from the Nixon to the Reagan administration.



Samuel Ficklin worked as a part-time butler at the White House for half a century and served 10 presidents before retiring in 1991. His brothers, John and Charles Ficklin, were former White House maitre d's.

“What makes me feel good is when people come back to the White House and they remember me.”



William Bowen, a part-time butler, first started working at the White House with his father in 1957. Together they span 70 years of service to first families.

“You start in a white coat at the door. You just maybe pass a few drinks. You don’t have enough skills to serve the tables or set up. You have to gradually work up to that — before you can put your tux on, before you are considered a butler.”

“One day you’re an electrical expert, the next day you’re a plumbing expert, and God only knows what you’ll be the day after that — in the usher’s office you were involved in all phases of the operation and maintenance of that 132-room house.”

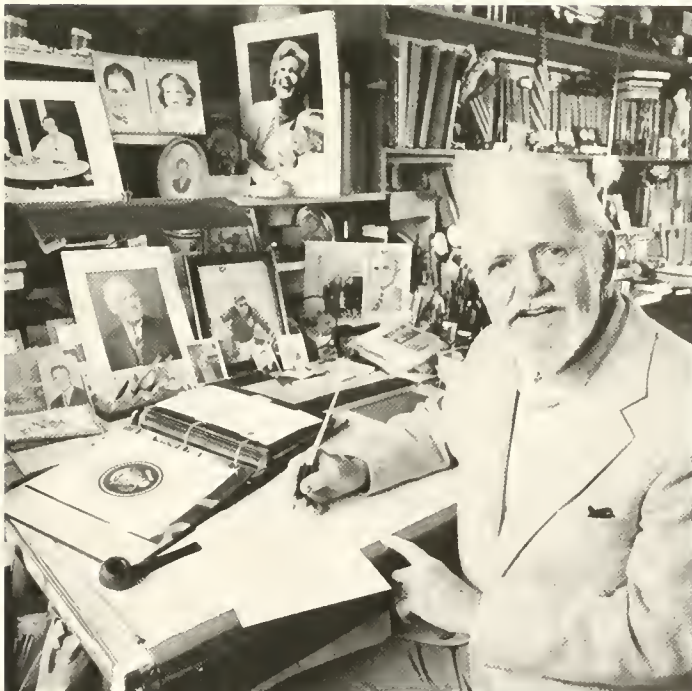


Nelson Pierce worked as an assistant usher from the Kennedy to the Reagan administration.

“When I’d get in a cab and say, ‘Take me to the White House,’ they’d say, ‘To the White House — at this time of night?’ They thought I was telling a story. And they’d sit there and wait ‘til I walked through the gate.”



Born and raised on his grandfather’s farm near Lynchburg, Virginia, 80-year-old former butler Armstead Barnett lived at the White House for four years during the Roosevelt administration.



Sanford Fox, a master of protocol and social ceremony, worked as a calligrapher and head of the social entertainment office from Presidents Roosevelt to Ford. He carried on White House traditions that he learned from his predecessor and teacher, Adrian Tolley, who first joined the staff in 1915.

“Each family that comes in has their own style, their own way of doing.”

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION



1992 Festival of American Folklife

June 25 - June 29 & July 2 - July 5

General Information

Festival Hours

Opening ceremonies for the Festival will be held on the Main Music Stage in the Native American Music area at 11:00 a.m., Thursday, June 25th. Thereafter, Festival hours will be 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with dance parties every evening from 5:30 to 7:00 p.m., except July 4th.

Horario del Festival

La ceremonia de apertura al Festival se celebrará en el escenario del Programa de "Native American Music," el 25 de junio a las 11:00 a.m. A partir de ese día, las horas del Festival serán de 11:00 a.m. a las 5:30 p.m. diariamente, con baile cada noche, excepto el 4 de julio, de 5:30 p.m. a 7:00 p.m.

Sales

Traditional New Mexican, Jamaican and Native American food will be sold. See the site map for locations.

A variety of crafts, books and Smithsonian/Folkways recordings relating to the 1992 Festival will be sold in the Museum Shop areas on the Festival site.

Press

Visiting members of the press should register at the Festival Press tent on the Mall near Madison Drive and 12th Street.

First Aid

A first aid station will be available near the Administration area on the Mall. The Health Units in the Museums of American History and Natural History are open from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

Primeros Auxilios

Una unidad de primeros auxilios se instalará cerca del área de la Administración. Las unidades de salud en los museos de Historia Norteamericana y de Historia Natural estarán abiertos desde las 10:00 a.m. hasta las 5:30 p.m.

Rest Rooms/Telephones

There are outdoor facilities for the public and disabled visitors located near all of the program areas on the Mall. Additional rest room facilities are available in each of the museum buildings during visiting hours.

Public telephones are available on the site, opposite the Museums of American History and Natural History, and inside the museums.

Lost and Found/Lost Children and Parents

Lost items may be turned in or retrieved at the Volunteer tent in the Administration area. Lost family members may be claimed at the Volunteer tent also. We advise putting a name tag on youngsters.

Personas y objetos Perdido

Las personas que hayan perdido a sus niños o a familiares pueden pasar por la carpa para voluntarios, en el área de la Administración por ellos. Recomendamos que los niños lleven puestos tarjeta de identificación con sus nombres. Los objetos encontrados o extraviados podrán entregarse o reclamarse en dicha carpa.

Metro Stations

Metro trains will be running every day of the Festival. The Festival site is easily accessible to either the Smithsonian or Federal Triangle stations on the Blue and Orange lines.

Services for Disabled Visitors

Three sign language interpreters are on site every day at the Festival. Check the printed schedule and signs for interpreted programs. Oral interpreters are available for individuals if a request is made three full days in advance. Call (202) 786-2414 (TDD) or (202) 786-2942 (voice).

Large-print copies of the daily schedule and audiocassette versions of the program book and schedule are available at Festival information kiosks and the Volunteer tent.

Wheelchairs are available at the Festival Volunteer tent. Volunteers are on call to assist wheelchair users and to guide visually handicapped visitors. There are a few designated parking spaces for disabled visitors along both Mall drives. These spaces have three hour time restrictions.

Evening Dance Parties

Musical groups playing traditional dance music will perform every evening, 5:30-7:00 p.m., except July 4th, at the Music Stage in the Native American Music area.

Program Book

Background information on the cultural traditions of New Mexico, the Maroons, White House workers and contemporary Native American music is available in the *Festival of American Folklife Program Book*, on sale for \$3.00 at the Festival site or by mail from the Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies, Smithsonian Institution, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W., Suite 2600, Washington, D.C. 20560.

Participants in the 1992 Festival of American Folklife

NEW MEXICO

New Mexico Crafts

Charles Carrillo, santero - Santa Fe
Cordelia Coronado, weaver - Medanales
Frances Naranjo Dennis, potter - Santa Clara Pueblo
Austin "Slim" Green, saddle-maker - Tesuque
Sam Leyba, muralist - Santa Fe
Felix Lopez, santero - Santa Fe
Irene Lopez, weaver - Española
José Benjamin Lopez, santero - Española
Jerome Lujan, santero - Santa Fe
Deana McGuffin, bootmaker - Clovis
Wilberto Miera, adobe worker/furniture maker - Santa Fe
Patricio Mora, paño artist - Albuquerque
Madelyn Naranjo, potter - Santa Clara Pueblo
Felipe Ortega, potter/cook - La Madera
Alberto Parra, adobe worker - Albuquerque
Carolina Paz, potter/quilting maker - Tortugas
Lydia Pesata, basketmaker/storyteller - Dulce
Eliseo Rodriguez, straw appliqué - Santa Fe
Paula Rodriguez, straw appliqué - Santa Fe
Tim Roybal, furniture maker - Española
Bonifacio Sandoval, tinworker - Santa Fe
Thelma Sheche, fetish carver - Zuni Pueblo
Ada Suina, potter - Cochiti Pueblo
Elizabeth Taliman, bead-worker/cook - Santa Fe
Carmen Romero Velarde, adobe worker/cook - Ranchos de Taos
Priscilla Vigil, potter/cook/storyteller - Tesuque

Maria Vergara Wilson, colcha embroiderer - La Madera

Home and Garden

Paulette Atencio, storyteller - Chama
Alice Hoppes, cook - Albuquerque
Edward Krettek, cook - Deming
Geraldine Krettek, cook - Deming
Gertrude Krettek, cook - Denning
Consuelo Martínez, curandera - Mora
Elizabeth Taliman, cook/bead-worker - Santa Fe
Maclovio Zamora, cook - Albuquerque

Range

Ganados del Valle
Estafañita Martinez, weaver - Tierra Amarilla
Norma Martinez, weaver - Chama
Sophie Martinez, weaver - Tierra Amarilla
Nena Russan, weaver - Chama

Ramah Navajo Sheep Camp

Katie C. Henio - Ramah
Samuel Henio - Pine Hill
Annie L. Pino - Ramah
Lorraine Wayne - Ramah

Mountain Spirit Dancers

Freddy Apache, dancer - Mescalero
Abraham Chee, dancer/drum-maker - Mescalero
Nathaniel Chee, Sr., drummer/singer - Mescalero
Nathaniel Chee, Jr., dancer - Mescalero
Samuel Chee, dancer/drum-maker - Mescalero
Joseph Geronimo, drummer/singer/drummaker - Mescalero
Philip Pike, dancer - Mescalero
José Castro, charro - La Mesa
Thelma Castro, charro - La Mesa
Banjo Garcia, camp cook - Continental Divide

Cindy Jo Gainer Graham, ranch skills - Tatum
R.W. Hampton, ranch skills/guitarist/vocalist - Sedan
James Keith, farrier/blacksmith - Tucumcari
Pete Lewis, ranch skills/fiddler - Dell City

Musicians

Antonia Apodaca, accordion/vocals - Rociada
Fernando Cellicion, flute - Zuni Pueblo
Vodra Dorn, vocals - Albuquerque
William Dorn, vocals/sermon traditions - Albuquerque
Juan Manuel Flores, guitar - Las Cruces
J.P. Lewis, guitar - Dell City
Charla Nettleton, bass - Mesilla Park
Cleofes Ortiz, fiddle - Albuquerque
Buster Payne, fiddle - Eunice
Floyd Trujillo, vocals/bone-carver - Abiquiu
Gretchen Van Houton, fiddle - Albuquerque
Cipriano Vigil, guitar/fiddle/vocals - Tesuque Pueblo
Johnny Whelan, guitar/poetry - Las Cruces
Luther Whelan, harmonica/bass/poetry - Las Cruces

Los Alegres

Frank Jaramillo, bass - Ranchos de Taos
Julia Jaramillo, mandolin - Ranchos de Taos
Pablo Trujillo, bass - Ranchos de Taos

Los Reyes de Albuquerque

Miguel Archibeque, guitar/vocals - Albuquerque
Isidro Chavez, guitar - Albuquerque
Ray Flores, trumpet - Albuquerque
Lorenzo Martinez, violin - Albuquerque
Roberto Martinez, vihuela/guitar/vocals - Albuquerque

Angela Perez, violin - Albuquerque

Plaza Dancers

Los Bernalillo Matachines

Theresa Acosta, dancer - Bernalillo
Charles J. Aguilar, violin - Bernalillo
Ralph Chavez, dancer - Bernalillo
John Crespin, dancer - Bernalillo
Jocelyn Duran, dancer - Bernalillo
Joseph R. Garcia, dancer - Bernalillo
Eddie D. Gutierrez, dancer - Bernalillo
Leroy J. Lovato, dancer - Bernalillo
Laurence Lucero, dancer - Bernalillo
Phillip Montano, dancer - Albuquerque
Leonard Prairie, dancer - Bernalillo
Melanie Wiggins, dancer - Bernalillo

Los Comanches de la Serna

David Antonio Gonzales, dancer - Ranchos de Taos
Francisco Gonzales, singer/dancer - Ranchos de Taos
Moises Romero, dancer - Ranchos de Taos
Julian Struck, dancer - Ranchos de Taos

Concha Dancers

Adeline Concha, dancer/bead-worker - Taos Pueblo
Benito Concha, drummer/flautist/dancer - Taos Pueblo
Celestina Concha, dancer/bead-worker - Taos Pueblo
Jodie Concha, dancer/bead-worker - Taos Pueblo
Michelle Concha, dancer/bead-worker - Taos Pueblo
Mike Concha, vocals/drummer/dancer - Taos Pueblo
Nicolas Concha, dancer - Taos Pueblo
Donna Sandoval, dancer/bead-worker - Taos Pueblo
Sonny Spruce, dancer - Taos Pueblo
Bransen Velarde, dancer - Taos Pueblo

CREATIVITY AND RESISTANCE: MAROON CULTURE IN THE AMERICAS

Colombia Palenqueros

Rafael Cassiaini Cassiani, singer/drummer
Cristobalina Estrada Valdez, singer/dancer
Gabino Hernandez Palomino, oral historian
Lorenzo Manuel Miranda Torres, drummer/dancer/singer
Graciela Salgado Valdez, drummer/singer
Dolores Salinas de Caceres, singer/dancer
Maximo Torres Berrio, drummer/drummaker/singer
Jose Valdez Simanca, marimba player/craftsman/storyteller/drummaker

Samacon Dove, basketmaker woodcarver/dancer/drummer
Analia Kondokou, calabash carver/dancer/cook
Simon Kouakou, dancer/flute player
Antoine Lamoraille, woodcarver
Marie Celine Lobi, hairbraider/dancer
Stanislas Lobi, dancer/kwakwa player
Sephro Mais, singer/dancer
Saneti Sacapou, singer/cook
Louis Topo, oral historian drummer/singer/dancer

Jamaica Accompong Town Maroons

George Huggins, drummer/calabash carver
Ferrel McKenzie, singer/dancer/drummer
Neville McLeggon, abeng blower/cook/drummer
Edwin Peddie, gumbie drummer
Rosalie Rowe, singer/dancer
Alrena Wright, singer/dancer/drummer
Colonel M.L. Wright, Chief, oral historian/singer

Jamaica Moore Town Maroons

Major Charles Aarons, drummer/dancer/jerk specialist/herbalist/abeng blower

Hermine Daure, dancer/singer/cook/craftsperson
Martha Downer, dancer/singer/cook
Colonel C.L.G. Harris, Chief, oral historian
George Harris, drummer/drummaker/jerk specialist/thatcher/carver/abeng blower/mat maker
Edith Myers, cook/dancer/singer/craftsperson
Emmanuel Palmer, drummer/abeng blower/calabash carver
Carl Patterson, dancer/animal trapper

Mexico Costa Chica Maroons

Melquiades Dominguez/Guzman, storyteller
Adan Garcia Marcial, singer
Tiburcio Novola Rodriguez, guitarist

Suriname Ndjuka Maroons

Granman Gazon Matodja, Paramount Chief, oral historian

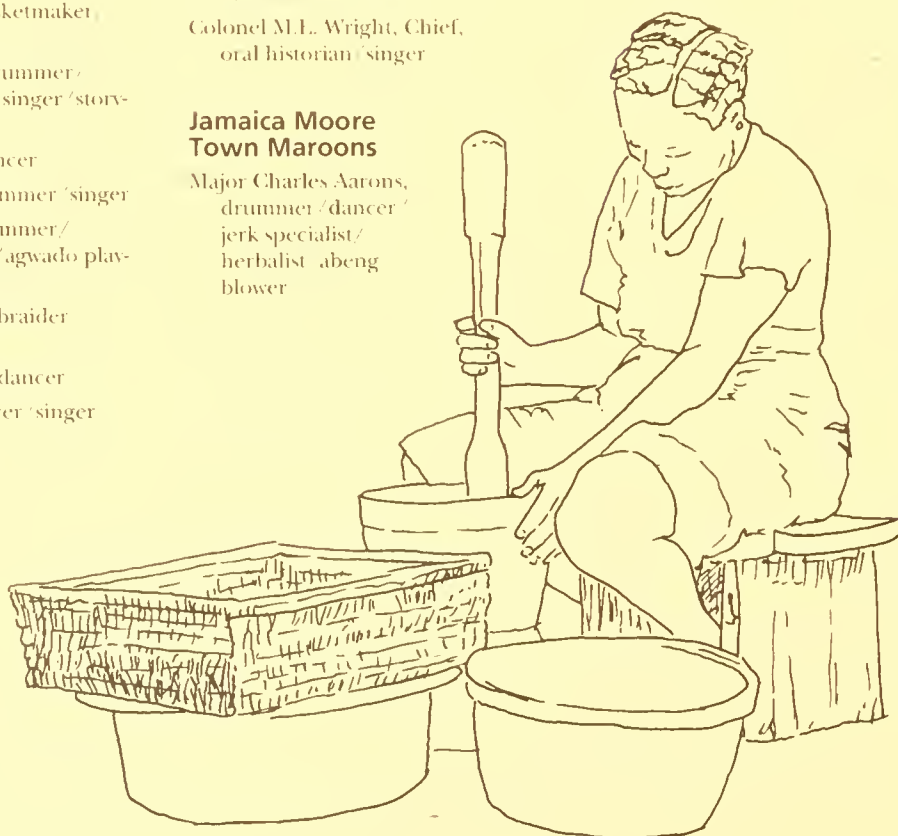
Baja Kalenga Gason, boat-builder/drummer/singer/dancer
Badjan Kelion, hunting & fishing skills/drummer/storyteller/boatbuilder
Albert Koejoe Dosoe, dancer
Sentele Molly, animal trapper/drummer/singer/oral historian
Jomena Sibe, cook/dancer/singer/needleworker/hairbraider
Modillie Siemie, cook/house decorator/hairbraider/storyteller

Suriname Saramaka Maroons

Granman Songo Aboikoni, Paramount Chief, oral historian
Adwingie Aboikoni, drummer/singer/thatcher/storyteller/woodcarver
Djangilie Amoesi, hunting & fishing skills/thatcher/dancer/wrestler/basketmaker
Aniekil Awardie, woodcarver/drummer/dancer/singer
Edoe Eduard Bobby, fish trapper/thatcher/drummer/dancer/singer
Patricia Main, cook/dancer/house decorator/hairbraider
Alisetie Ngwete, cook/dancer/singer/calabash carver/house decorator/hairbraider/textile artist/calfband maker
Akoemajajo Pansa, cook/dancer/singer/calabash carver/textile artist/calfband maker/hairbraider
Kajanasieh Saakie, cook/dancer/singer/calabash carver/house decorator/textile artist/calfband maker

Texas Seminole Maroons

Alice Fay Lozano, cook - Del Rio
Ethel Warrior, cook - Del Rio
William "Dub" Warrior, storyteller - Del Rio
Charles Emily Wilson, storyteller - Brackettville



THE CHANGING SOUNDSCAPE IN INDIAN COUNTRY

Akwesasne Singers - Mohawk Music

Brad Bonaparte, cowhorn rattle - Akwesasne Mohawk Nation

Mike McDonald, water drum - Akwesasne Mohawk Nation

Kariwate Mitchell, cowhorn rattle - Akwesasne Mohawk Nation

Arnonienens Porter, cowhorn rattle - Akwesasne Mohawk Nation

Cherokee Indian Baptist Choir

J.B. Dreadfulwater, director/tenor - Tahlequah, Oklahoma

Louise Dreadfulwater, soprano - Tahlequah, Oklahoma

Georgia Glass, soprano - Stillwell, Oklahoma

John Goodrich, bass - Stillwell, Oklahoma

Florence Hummingbird, alto - Stillwell, Oklahoma

Louise Lacey, soprano - Rose, Oklahoma

Joanne McLemore, alto - Stillwell, Oklahoma

Sanders McLemore, lead singer - Stillwell, Oklahoma

Laroue Miles, alto - Stillwell, Oklahoma

Mose Sanders, bass - Kansas, Oklahoma

Fiddle Styles

Lionel Desjarlais, guitar - Winnipeg, Manitoba

Lawrence Houle, Manitoba fiddle - Winnipeg, Manitoba

Brian Johnson, Turtle Mountain fiddle - Belcourt, North Dakota

Todd Martell, guitar - Belcourt, North Dakota

Bill Stevens, Yukon fiddle - Fairbanks, Alaska

Francis Williams, guitar - Fairbanks, Alaska

Alex Gomez Band - Waila Music ("Chicken Scratch")

Albert Alvarez, accordion - Tucson, Arizona

Roger Carlos, lead guitar - Tucson, Arizona

Alex Gomez, saxophone - Coolidge, Arizona

Timothy Gomez, drums/accordion - Coolidge, Arizona

Dennis Lopez, bass guitar - Tucson, Arizona

Lucious Vavages, drums/accordion - Topawa, Arizona

Nicaraguan Marimba Group

Carlos Palacio, guitar

Juan Palacio, guitarilla

Manuel Palacio, marimba

White Boy and the Wagon Burners - Blues/Rock

Dugan Henhawk, saxophone, vocals - Nedrow, New York

John "Kapp" Kappusniak, keyboards - Nedrow, New York

Kent Lyons, bass guitar - Nedrow, New York

Rex Lyons, guitar - Nedrow, New York

Phil Regan, drums - Syracuse, New York

Solo Performers

Sharon Burch, guitar - Santa Rosa, California

Vincent Craig, guitar/harmonica - Window Rock, Arizona

Brent Michael Davids, composer/flautist - Tempe, Arizona

Murray Porter, keyboards - Ohsweken Reserve, Ontario

WORKERS AT THE WHITE HOUSE

Eugene Allen, head butler/maitre d' - Washington, D.C.

Mary Anderson, pantry worker - Hillcrest Heights, Maryland

Russell Armentrout, head, Social Entertainment Office - Silver Spring, Maryland

Alphadine Arrington, records and documentation, Gift Unit - Myrtle Beach, South Carolina

Bonner Arrington, carpenter foreman - Myrtle Beach, South Carolina



Howard Arrington, plumbing foreman - Edgewater, Maryland

Armstead Barnett, butler - Washington, D.C.

Gerald Behn, secret service agent - McLean, Virginia

William Bowen, part-time butler - Washington, D.C.

Preston Bruce, doorman - Washington, D.C.

Kenneth Burke, inspector/White House Police - Bradenton, Florida

Sean Callahan, stone cutter and carver - Silver Spring, Maryland

Peter "Billy" Cleland, stone mason - Clinton, Maryland

Raymond Cleland, stone cutter and carver - North Beach, Maryland

J. Woodson Ficklin, houseman - Largo, Maryland

John Wroty Ficklin, part-time pantryman - Bowie, Maryland

Samuel Ficklin, part-time butler - Washington, D.C.

Alonzo Fields, chief butler/maitre d' - Medford, Massachusetts

Sanford Fox, head, Social Entertainment Office - Alexandria, Virginia

Russell Free, engineer - Arlington, Virginia

Arthur Godfrey, Secret Service agent - Temple Hills, Maryland

Henry Haller, executive chef - Potomac, Maryland

Robert Harmon, part-time butler - Washington, D.C.

Benjamin Harrison, houseman - Washington, D.C.

James Jeffries, Sr., part-time butler - Washington, D.C.

James Jeffries, Jr., part-time butler - Washington, D.C.

John Johnson, butler - Washington, D.C.

James R. Ketchum, curator - Washington, D.C.

Flossie Malachi, pantry worker - Washington, D.C.

Lillian Rogers Parks, seamstress/maid - Washington, D.C.

Nelson Pierce, assistant usher - Arlington, Virginia

Patrick Plunkett, stone cutter and carver - Takoma Park, Maryland

David Roberts, stone cutter and carver - Rockville, Maryland

William F. Ruback, assistant horticulturalist - South Bethany, Delaware

Lewis Simmons, chief engineer - Myrtle Beach, South Carolina

William Stephenson, part-time butler - Washington, D.C.

Norwood Williams, mail messenger/part-time butler - Washington, D.C.

Philip Uhl, stone cutter and carver - Silver Spring, Maryland

Elmer "Rusty" Young, chief floral designer - Williamsburg, Virginia

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Creativity and Resistance: Maroon Culture in the Americas has been made possible with the support of the governments of Colombia, French Guiana, Jamaica, Suriname, and Guerrero, Mexico; the Texas Commission on the Arts; Texas Folklife Resources; Suriname Airways; Air Jamaica; Camille O. and William H. Cosby, Jr.; Inter-American Foundation; Association Mi Sa Libi; Le Conseil Régional de Guyane Française; La Mairie de Maripassoula; Traquen'Art; and the Smithsonian's Educational Outreach Fund, International Center, Anacostia Museum, and National Museum of American History.

The Changing Soundscape in Indian Country, co-sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian, has been made possible with the support of the Music Performance Trust Funds and the government of Nicaragua.

Workers at the White House has been made possible through the collaboration of the White House Historical Association which has received funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the support of the Johnson Foundation (Trust) and the Smithsonian Institution Special Exhibition Fund.

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*The Changing Soundscape in
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
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


Thursday, June 25

NEW MEXICO


	Plaza	Kitchen	Music Stage	Range	Learning Center/ Camp Fire
11:00		 Cochiti Pueblo Feast Foods			
12:00		 African-American Cooking: Juneteenth!	Antonia Apodaca, Cleofes Ortiz, Cipriano Vigil: Spanish Colonial Music		Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zum Pueblo
	Los Matachines		Juan Flores & Charla Nettleton: Música de la Frontera	Charreada Traditions	William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions
1:00	Cuentos: Stories from the Rio Grande Valley				 Building Traditions
		Czech-American Cooking	Johnny & Luther Whelan: Música de los Vaqueros		
2:00	Taos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers			Ranch Traditions	Pottery Traditions
		Posole	Los Alegres: Música de los Viejos		
3:00	Expressions of Faith		Juan Flores & Charla Nettleton: Música de la Frontera		Cuentos: Stories from the Rio Grande Valley 
		Klobase Festival			
4:00			Fiddle Styles	Mescalero Apache Mountain Spirit Dancers	Camp Cooking
	Taos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers	 Horno Cooking: Feast Day Cookies	Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zum Pueblo		Los Matachines
5:00				Horsemanship	Craft Revivalism & Public Projects
	Los Matachines	Indo-Hispanic Cooking	Los Reyes de Albuquerque	Mescalero Apache Mountain Spirit Dancers	

"American Encounters," a permanent exhibition that examines the historical relationships of New Mexico's cultures, is open to the public in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.





NATIVE AMERICAN MUSIC

	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00	 Opening Ceremony	
12:00		Cherokee Hymn Singing
	Alex Gomez Band: O'odham Warla Music ("Chicken Scratch")	 Protest Songs
1:00	Cherokee Indian Baptist Choir	Fiddle Workshop
2:00	Brent Michael Davis: Mohican Flautist Composer	Nicaraguan Music
	Akwesasne Singers: Mohawk Musical Traditions	Promotion & Marketing
3:00	Nicaragua Marimba Trio	
	Fiddle Styles: Manitoba Ojibway Mutchit Turtle Mountain Athabaskan Yukon	 Iroquoian Traditions
4:00	Vincent Craig: Navajo Guitarist-Singer	Classical Music
5:00	White Boy & the Wagon Burners: Onondaga Blues Rock	Sacred, Secular Music
	Dance Party Alex Gomez Band	
7:00		

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .


MAROON PROGRAM

	Music and Dance Area	Narrative Area: Kuutu Osu	Activity Center Workshops	On-going Demonstrations	Foodways
11:00					
12:00				Colombia Area: Drum Repair, Plaited & Woven Work, "Trampas" & "Janlas," Rice Processing, Trapmaking*	
1:00	Sexteto Son Palenque: Colombian Maroon Music & Dance	Greetings & Opening Calls: Drums & Abeng Language	Play Jamaican Maroon Games	Guianas Area: Architecture, Stitchery, Wood Carving, House Dressing,** Painted House Decoration, Plaited Hair Designs, Calabash Carving, Boatbuilding, Basketry, Netmaking, Trap Making, Crocheted Calfband Making, Processing & Preparing Cassava, Rice Processing, Planting	 Seminole Maroon Area: Cooking with Corn: Sullki
	Ndjuka Music & Dance from Suriname				
2:00	Accompong: Jamaican Maroon Music & Dance	Maroon Stories from Ecuador	Saramaka Wood Carving		Guianas Area: Cooking with Plantain
3:00	 Mexican Maroon Music	Maroon Traditions of Self Government			
	Moore Town: Jamaican Maroon Music & Dance				
4:00	Colombian Palenquero Music & Dance	 Anansi Stories from the Guianas	Try Guianese Music & Dance	Seminole Area: Documenting Family History, Cowboy Skills, Cavalry Skills, Foodways Jamaica Area: Thatching, Drummaking & Repair, Making Bird & Fish Traps, Working with Fiber, Basketry	Colombia Area: Palenquero Cooking with Cornmeal
	Saramaka Music & Dance from Suriname				
5:00	Mexican Maroon Music	Maroon Languages: Workshop on Greetings		Mexico Area: Herbal Medicine	Jamaican Ginger Beer Making
	Aluku Music & Dance from the Guianas	 Maroon Healing Arts Workshop	Learn to Make a Palenquero Plaited Fan		

** 12:00 - 12:30 - Guianas Area - House dressing from the Guianas





* 3:00 - 3:30 - Colombia Area - Trapmaking

WHITE HOUSE

	Stone Carving Tent	Narrative Stage
11:00		
12:00	Ongoing demonstrations by stone cutters and carvers currently working to restore the White House	Narrative sessions with White House workers on: traditions of teaching and learning, skills and working knowledge, daily tasks and special events, teamwork, stories and customs, relationships with first families, fellow workers and guests, transitions, and social changes affecting worker culture
1:00		
2:00		
3:00		 Narrative sessions at the following times will be sign-interpreted: 1:45 - 2:30 4:45 - 5:30
4:00		
5:00		

Friday, June 26

NEW MEXICO

	Plaza	Kitchen	Music Stage	Range	Learning Center/ Camp Fire
11:00					
12:00		 Cooking with Green Chile	Los Reyes de Albuquerque		Czech-American Community in New Mexico
	Los Matachines				William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions
1:00		Cooking in the Horno	Johnny & Luther Whelan: Música de los Vaqueros	Charreada Traditions	
	Storytelling		Juan Flores & Charla Nettleton: Música de la Frontera		Pan-Festival Workshop: Building Traditions
		 Czech-American Cooking	Antonia Apodaca, Cleofes Ortiz, Cipriano Vigil: Spanish Colonial Music	Mescalero Apache Mountain Spirit Dancers	Weaving: Gathering Materials
2:00	Taos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers				
3:00		Cochiti Pueblo Cooking	Johnny & Luther Whelan: Música de los Vaqueros	Horsemanship	Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zuni Pueblo
	William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions				 Images, Tourists, and Traditions
4:00		Indo-Hispanic Cooking	Fiddle Styles	Charreada Traditions	Camp Fire
	Los Matachines				
5:00		 African-American Cooking	Los Alegres: Música de los Viejos	Mescalero Apache Mountain Spirit Dancers	Cuentos: Stories from the Rio Grande Valley
	Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zuni Pueblo				
	Taos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers	Tesuque Pueblo Cooking	Juan Flores & Charla Nettleton: Música de la Frontera	Ranch Traditions	Charreada Traditions

"American Encounters," a permanent exhibition that examines the historical relationships of New Mexico's cultures, is open to the public in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

NATIVE AMERICAN MUSIC


	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00		
12:00	Cherokee Indian Baptist Choir	Fiddle Workshop
		 Instrument Construction
1:00	Nicaragua Mamba Trio	
		 Marketing: The Recording Industry
2:00	White Boy & the Wagon Burners: Onondaga Blues, Rock	
		Fiddle Styles: Manitoba Ojibway Mitchell Turtle Mountain Athabaskan Yukon
3:00	Vincent Craig: Navajo Guitarist-Singer	Iroquoian Traditions
4:00	Brent Michael Davids: Mohican Flautist-Composer	Nicaraguan Music
5:00	Akwesasne Singers: Mohawk Musical Traditions	Cherokee Hymn Singing
7:00	Murray Porter: Oneida Keyboardist-Singer	Sacred/Secular Music
7:00	Alex Gomez Band: O'odham Waila Music ("Chicken Scratch")	Protest Songs

Dance Party





White Boy & the Wagon Burners

7:00

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .


MAROON PROGRAM

	Music and Dance Area	Narrative Area: Kuutu Osu	Activity Center Workshops	On-going Demonstrations	Foodways
11:00					
12:00	Moore Town: Jamaican Maroon Music & Dance	 New Ways from African Roots: Innovation & Continuities		Colombia Area: Drum Repair, Plaited & Woven Work, "Trampas" & "Jaulas," Rice Processing, Trapmaking	Seminole Maroon Area: Cooking with Sweet Potato
1:00	Music & Dance from the Guianas	Seminole Maroon Narratives	Try Guianese Maroon Wood Carving Design	Guianas Area: Architecture, Stitchery, Wood Carving, House Dressing, Painted House Decoration, Plaited Hair Designs, Calabash Carving, Boatbuilding,* Basketry, Netmaking, Trap Making, Crocheted Calf-band Making, Processing & Preparing Cassava, Rice Processing, Plating	 Jamaica Area: Cooking with Tubers
2:00	Colombian Palenquero Music & Dance	Tales of Maroon Leaders			
3:00	Accompanying: Jamaican Maroon Music & Dance	Aluku Maroon Narratives	Try Guianese Music & Dance		
4:00	Mexican Maroon Music	Traditions of Self Government: Moore Town Council Meeting			Guianas Area: Cooking with Tubers
5:00	Ndjuka Music & Dance from Suriname	 Tales of Maroon Heroes	Learn to Make Colombian Palenquero Plaited Fans	Seminole Area: Documenting Family History, Cowboy Skills, Cavalry Skills, Foodways	Colombia Area: Preparing Tuber Foods
	Saramaka Music & Dance from Suriname	Anansi Stories		Jamaica Area: Thatching, Drummaking & Repair, Making Bird & Fish Traps, Working with Fiber, Basketry	
	Jamaican Maroon Jawbone Music	Ceremonies of Transition (Death & Birth)	Play Jamaican Maroon Ring Games	Mexico Area: Herbal Medicine**	Seminole Maroon Area: Cooking from Nacimiento
	Colombian Palenquero Music & Dance	Herbal Healing			

*12:00 - 12:30 - Guianas Area - Boatbuilding





**3:00 - 3:30 - Mexico Area - Herbal Medicine

WHITE HOUSE

	Stone Carving Tent	Music Stage
11:00		
12:00	Ongoing demonstrations by stone cutters and carvers currently working to restore the White House	Narrative sessions with White House workers on: traditions of teaching and learning, skills and working knowledge, daily tasks and special events, teamwork, stories and customs, relationships with first families, fellow workers and guests, transitions, and social changes affecting worker culture
1:00		
2:00		
3:00		 Narrative sessions at the following times will be sign-interpreted: 2:30 - 3:15
4:00		
5:00		

Saturday, June 27

NEW MEXICO

	Plaza	Kitchen	Music Stage	Range	Learning Center/ Camp Fire
11:00					
12:00	Los Matachines	 Indo-Hispanic Cooking	Los Alegres: Música de los Viejos		Saddles & Boots
			Johnny & Luther Whelan: Música de los Vaqueros		Fernanda Cellicion: Flute Zuni Pueblo
		Czech-American Cooking		Horsemanship	
1:00	Storytelling		Fiddle Styles		Beadwork & Ceremony
2:00		Cooking in the Horno	Juan Flores & Charla Nettleton: Música de la Frontera	Mescalero Apache Mountain Spirit Dancers	 Pottery Traditions
	William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions			Charreada Traditions	
					Cuentos: Stories from the Rio Grande Valley
3:00	Taos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers	African-American Cooking	Los Reyes de Albuquerque		 Drums of the Mountain Spirit Dancers
			Antonia Apodaca, Cleofes Ortiz, Cipriano Vigil: Spanish Colonial Music		
		Indo-Hispanic Traditions	Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zuni Pueblo	Ranch Traditions	Rural Life & the Environment
4:00	William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions			Mescalero Apache Mountain Spirit Dancers	 Camp Fire
	Los Matachines	Klobase Festival	Fiddle Styles		
5:00					
	Taos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers	Rio Grande Valley Cooking	Los Alegres: Música de los Viejos	Charreada Traditions	William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions

NATIVE AMERICAN MUSIC

	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00		
12:00	Nicaragua Marimba Frio	 Protest Songs
	Akwesasne Singers: Mohawk Musical Traditions	Classical Music
1:00	Vincent Craig: Navajo Guitarist, Singer	Iroquoian Traditions
2:00	Brent Michael Davids: Mohican Flautist, Composer	Cherokee Singing
	Murray Porter: Oneida Keyboardist, Singer	Pan-Festival Workshop: Drummaking
3:00	Fiddle Styles: Manitoba Ojibway, Michif, Turtle Mountain, Athabaskan, Yukon	Marketing
4:00	Cherokee Indian Baptist Choir	Fiddle Workshop
5:00	White Boy & the Wagon Burners: Onondaga Blues, Rock	Nicaraguan Music
	Alex Gomez Band: O'odham Waila Music ("Chicken Scratch")	 Sacred Secular Music


"American Encounters," a permanent exhibition that examines the historical relationships of New Mexico's cultures, is open to the public in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

Dance Party





Los Reyes de Albuquerque

7:00

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .


MAROON PROGRAM

	Music and Dance Area	Narrative Area: Kuutu Osu	Activity Center Workshops	On-going Demonstrations	Foodways
11:00					
12:00	Saramaka Music & Dance from Suriname	Remembrance: Stories of Maroon Heroes & Heroines 		Colombia Area: Drum Repair, Plaited & Woven Work, "Trampas" & "Jaulas," Rice Processing, Trappmaking	Seminole Maroon Area: Making Fry Bread
	Sexteto Son Palenque: Colombian Maroon Music & Dance	Maroon Identity in the 1990s: Jamaica, Guianas, Mexico	Try Guianese Maroon Patchwork Design	Guianas Area: Architecture, Stitchery, Wood Carving,* House Dressing, Painted House Decoration, Plaited Hair Designs, Calabash Carving, Boatbuilding, Basketry, Netmaking, Trap Making, Crocheted Calfband Making, Processing & Preparing Cassava, Rice Processing, Plaiting	Jamaican Area: Dumplings & Johnny Cakes
1:00	 Ndjuka Music & Dance from Suriname	Stories of the Seminole Scouts			
2:00	Jamaican Maroons from Moore Town Music & Dance	Maroon Stories from Ecuador	Play Jamaican Maroon Games		
	New Musics from Old: Guianas: Aleke; Colombia: Bullerengue & Son de Negro	Maroon Traditions of Self Government: Guianas & Jamaica			Guianas Area: Guianese Maroon Cassava Cakes
3:00					
	Jamaican Maroon Drumming & Dance from Accompong	Maroon Anansi Stories 	Try Guianese Maroon Music & Dance	Seminole Area: Documenting Family History, Cowboy Skills, Cavalry Skills, Foodways	Seminole Maroon Area: Cooking for Seminole Day
4:00					
	Mexican Maroon Music	Maroon Languages		Jamaica Area: Thatching, Drummaking & Repair, Making Bird & Fish - Traps, Working with Fiber,** Basketry	
5:00					
	Aluku Music & Dance from French Guiana	Maroon Healing Arts Workshop 	Learn to Make Colombian Maroon Plaited Fans	Mexico Area: Musical Instrument Making	Colombia Area: Palenquero Cooking

** 11:00 - 12:00 - Jamaica Area - Jamaican Bangu bags





* 3:30 - 4:00 - Guianas Area - Guiana woodcarving

WHITE HOUSE


	Stone Carving Tent	Narrative Stage
11:00		
12:00	Ongoing demonstrations by stone cutters and carvers currently working to restore the White House	Narrative sessions with White House workers on: traditions of teaching and learning, skills and working knowledge, daily tasks and special events, teamwork, stories and customs, relationships with first families, fellow workers and guests, transitions, and social changes affecting worker culture
1:00		
2:00		
3:00		 Narrative sessions at the following times will be sign-interpreted: 12:30 - 1:15 2:00 - 2:45 3:30 - 4:15
4:00		
5:00		

Sunday, June 28

NEW MEXICO

	Plaza	Kitchen	Music Stage	Range	Learning Center/ Camp Fire
11:00					
12:00		Czech-American Cooking	Juan Flores & Charla Newton: Música de la Frontera		 Ways of Healing
	Alabados: Songs of Belief		Los Alegres: Música de los Viejos		William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions
1:00		Cooking in the Horno		Charreada Traditions	
	Los Matachines		Los Reyes de Albuquerque		 Weaving: Using Looms
2:00		African- American Cooking		Ranch Traditions	
			Johnny & Luther Whelan: Música de los Vaqueros	Mescalero Apache Mountain Spirit Dancers	Economic Development & Cultural Preservation
3:00		Indo-Hispanic Cooking			 Pan-Festival Workshop: Expressions of Faith
	Taos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers		Fiddle Styles	Charreada Traditions	
4:00	Storytelling	Cochiti Pueblo Cooking	Antonia Apodaca, Cleofes Ortiz, Cipriano Vigil: Spanish Colonial Music		Micaceous Pottery
	William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions				Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zuni Pueblo
5:00		African- American Cooking	Los Reyes de Albuquerque	Mescalero Apache Mountain Spirit Dancers	 Camp Fire
	Taos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers				
	Los Matachines	Ramah Navajo Cooking	Los Alegres: Música de los Viejos	Horsemanship	

NATIVE AMERICAN MUSIC

	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00		
	Cherokee Indian Baptist Choir	Fiddle Workshop
12:00		
	Brent Michael Davids: Mohican Flautist- Composer	 Sacred/Secular Music
1:00		
	Fiddle Styles: Manitoba Ojibway Mitchit Turtle Mountain Athabaskan Yukon	 Instrument Construction
2:00		
	Akwesasne Singers: Mohawk Musical Traditions	Promotion & Marketing
3:00		
	Nicaragua Marimba Trio	Protest Songs
4:00		
	Vincent Craig: Navajo Guitarist-Singer	Iroquoian Traditions
	Murray Porter: Onaida Keyboardist- Singer	Nicaraguan Music
5:00		
	White Boy & the Wagon Burners: Onondaga Blues Rock	 Sacred/Secular Music
	Alex Gomez Band: O'odham Waila Music ("Chicken Scratch")	Classical Music


"American Encounters," a permanent exhibition that examines the historical relationships of New Mexico's cultures, is open to the public in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

Dance Party





Ndjuka &
Aluku Aleke
Music

7:00

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.


Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

MAROON PROGRAM

	Music and Dance Area	Narrative Area: Kuutu Osu	Activity Center Workshops	On-going Demonstrations	Foodways
11:00					
12:00	Aluku Music & Dance	 Palenque de San Basilio: Riddles & Games	Patchwork Design from the Guianas	Colombia Area: Drum Repair, Plaited & Woven Work, "Trampas" & "Jaulas," Rice Processing, Trapmaking	Seminole Maroon Staples: Cooking with Cornmeal
	Mexican Cimarrones: Corridos	African Continuities: Language, Speech Styles & Oratory		Guianas Area: Architecture, Stitchery, Wood Carving, House Dressing, Painted House, Decoration,* Plaited Hair Designs, Calabash Carving, Boatbuilding, Basketry, Netmaking, Trap Making, Crocheted Calfband Making, Processing & Preparing Cassava, Rice Processing, Plaiting	 Guianese Maroon Staples: Growing, Processing & Cooking Rice
1:00	Jamaican Maroon Processional Music: Accompong	Seminole Maroons: New Year's Traditions	Learn Colombian Palenquero Woven Works		
2:00	Ndjuka Music & Dance	Traditions of Self Government: Resolving Conflicts			Jamaican Maroon Survival Foods: Jerk Pork
	 Saramaka Music & Dance		Play Jamaican Maroon Games		
3:00		New Languages Created from Old		Seminole Area: Documenting Family History, Cowboy Skills, Cavalry Skills, Foodways	Palenquero Cooking with Tubers: Sancocho
	Jamaican Maroon Music				
4:00		Stories from Ecuador	Try Guianese Maroon Dance	Jamaica Area: Thatching, Drummaking & Repair, Making Bird & Fish Traps, Working with Fiber, Basketry	
	Maroon Story Songs	 Tales of Maroon Ancestors			Maroon Tonics & Healing Preparations
5:00				Mexico Area: Herbal Medicine	
	Colombia Palenquero Music & Dance	Survival Skills & the Spirit of Marronage			





* 3:30 - 4:00 - Guianas Area - Decorative Painting

WHITE HOUSE

	Stone Carving Tent	Narrative Stage
11:00		
12:00	Ongoing demonstrations by stone cutters and carvers currently working to restore the White House	Narrative sessions with White House workers on: traditions of teaching and learning, skills and working knowledge, daily tasks and special events, teamwork, stories and customs, relationships with first families, fellow workers and guests, transitions, and social changes affecting worker culture
1:00		
2:00		
3:00		 Narrative sessions at the following times will be sign-interpreted: 2:00 - 2:45 2:45 - 3:30
4:00		
5:00		

Monday, June 29

NEW MEXICO

	Plaza	Kitchen	Music Stage	Range	Learning Center/ Camp Fire
11:00					
12:00		Cochiti Pueblo Cooking	Antonia Apodaca, Cleofes Ortiz, Cipriano Vigil: Spanish Colonial Music		African-American Communities in New Mexico 
	Los Matachines				
1:00	Cuentos: Stories from the Rio Grande Valley	Indo-Hispanic Cooking	Los Reyes de Albuquerque	Horsemanship	Camp Fire
				Mescalero Apache Mountain Spirit Dancers	Land Use & Water Rights 
2:00	Laos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers	African-American Cooking	Los Megres: Música de los Viejos	Charreada Traditions	Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zuni Pueblo
			Johnny & Luther Whelan: Música de los Vaqueros		William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions
3:00		Czech-American Cooking 	Fiddle Styles	Ranch Traditions	Cuentos Stories from the Rio Grande Valley
	Los Matachines				Mescalero Apache Traditions
4:00	Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zuni Pueblo	Horno Cooking	Juan Flores & Charla Nettleton: Música de la Frontera		
			Antonia Apodaca, Cleofes Ortiz, Cipriano Vigil: Spanish Colonial Music		Saddles & Horses
5:00	Laos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers	Indo-Hispanic Cooking	Fiddle Styles		Coloring Tradition: Santeros, Potters, Muralists & Weavers
	William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions			Charreada Traditions	
	Storytelling	Making Ristras 			

"American Encounters," a permanent exhibition that examines the historical relationships of New Mexico's cultures, is open to the public in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

NATIVE AMERICAN MUSIC


	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00	Murray Porter: Oneida Keyboardist Singer	Classical Music
12:00	Brent Michael Davids: Mohican Flautist Composer	Iroquoian Traditions 
1:00	Cherokee Indian Baptist Choir	Fiddle Workshop
2:00	Fiddle Styles: Manitoba Ojibway Mitchell Turtle Mountain Athabaskan Yukon	Protest Songs 
	Akwesasne Singers: Mohawk Musical Traditions	Marketing
3:00	Nicaragua Marimba Trio	Sacred Secular Music
4:00	Vincent Craig: Navajo Guitarist Singer	Instrument Construction
	Alex Gomez Band: O'odham Warla Music ("Chicken Scratch")	Cherokee Hymn Singing
5:00	White Boy & the Wagon Burners: Onondaga Blues/Rock	Nicaraguan Music

Dance Party

Antonia Apodaca, Cleofes Ortiz, Cipriano Vigil: Spanish Colonial Music






7:00

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .


MAROON PROGRAM

WHITE HOUSE

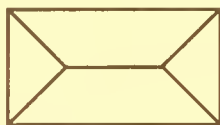
	Music and Dance Area	Narrative Area: Kuutu Osu	Activity Center Workshops	On-going Demonstrations	Foodways		Stone Carving Tent	Narrative Stage
11:00						11:00		
12:00	 Aluku Music & Dance from French Guiana	Palenque de San Basilio: Oral Traditions	Patchwork from the Guianas	Colombia Area: Drum Repair,* Plaited & Woven Work, "Trampas" & "Jaulas," Rice Processing, Trap making	Seminole Maroon Cooking Traditions	12:00	Ongoing demonstrations by stone cutters and carvers currently working to restore the White House	Narrative sessions with White House workers on: traditions of teaching and learning, skills and working knowledge, daily tasks and special events, teamwork, stories and customs, relationships with first families, fellow workers and guests, transitions, and social changes affecting worker culture
1:00	Mexican Cimarrones: Corrido	Seminole Maroons: The Seminole Scouts		Guianas Area: Architecture, Stitchery, Wood Carving, House Dressing, Painted House Decoration, Plaited Hair Designs, Calabash Carving, Boatbuilding, Basketry, Netmaking, Trap Making, Crocheted Callband Making, Processing & Preparing Cassava, Plaiting, Rice Processing	Guiana Maroon Cooking with Peanuts	1:00		
2:00	Jamaican Maroon Processional Music: Accompong	 Pan-Festival Workshop: Protocol	Learn to Make Colombian Palenquero Plaited Fans			2:00		
3:00	Colombia Palenquero Music & Dance	Traditions of Self Government: Choosing Leaders			 Jamaican Maroon Survival Foods: Jerk Pork	3:00		
4:00	Saramaka Music & Dance from Suriname		Play Jamaican Maroon Games			4:00		
5:00	Moore Town Jamaican Maroon Music & Dance	New Languages Created from Old		Seminole Area: Documenting Family History,** Cowboy Skills, Cavalry Skills, Foodways	Palenquero Cooking with Cornmeal: Arepa de Huevo	5:00		
		Women in Maroon Cultures 	Try Guianese Maroon Dance	Jamaica Area: Thatching, Drummaking & Repair, Making Bird & Fish Traps, Working with Fiber, Hammock Making, Basketry				
	Maroon Story Songs	Maroon Identity in the 1990s			Guianas: Making Kwaka			
	Ndjuka Music & Dance from Suriname	Innovation & Continuities: Personal Style in Dress & Ornament 		Mexico Area: Musical Instrument Making				

* 12:00 - 12:30 - Colombia Area - Drum Repair

** 3:00 - 3:30 - Seminole Area - Documenting Family History


Narrative sessions at the following times will be sign-interpreted:
2:30 - 3:15
3:15 - 4:00
4:45 - 5:30

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY



New Mexico
Main Music Stage

Information

First Aid

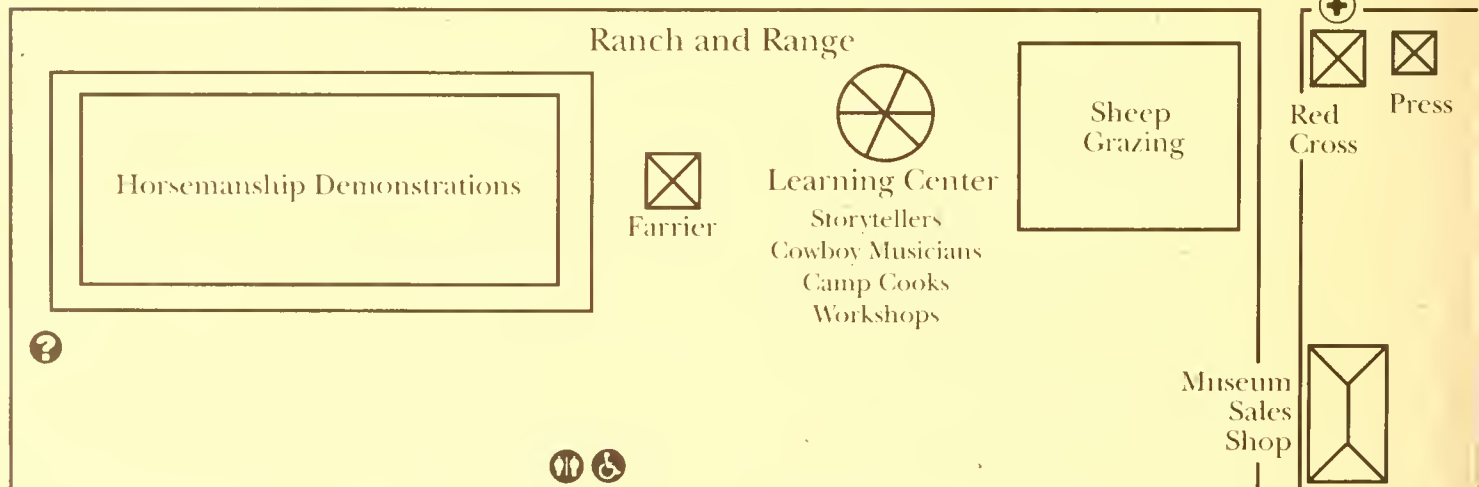
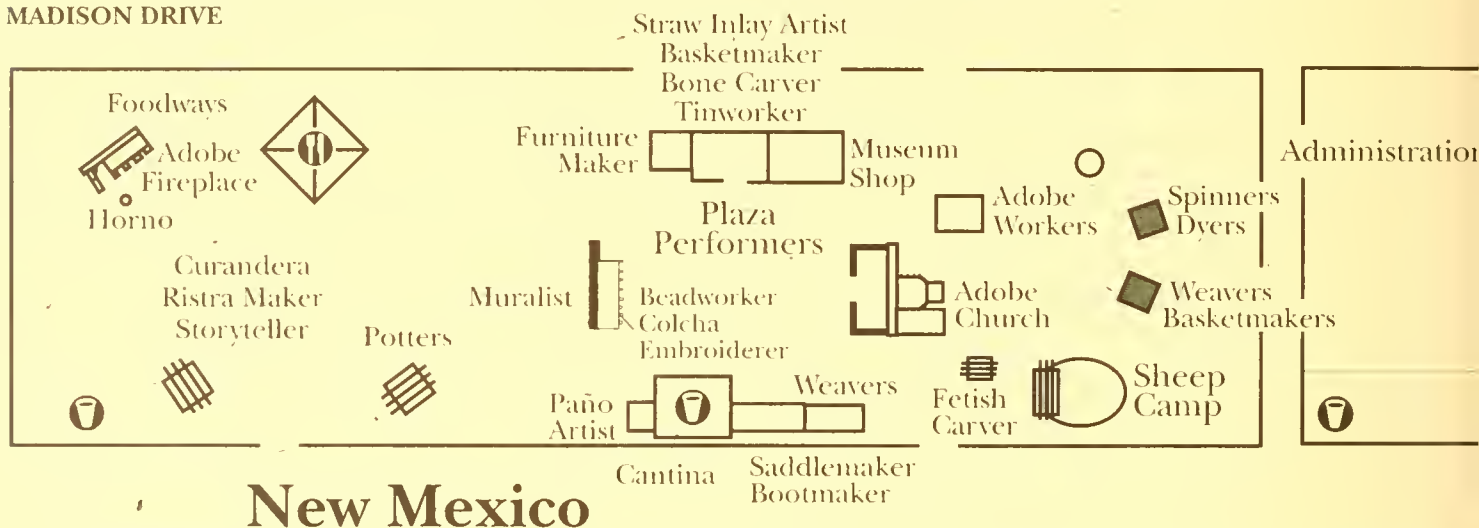
Beverage Concession

Restrooms

Food Concession

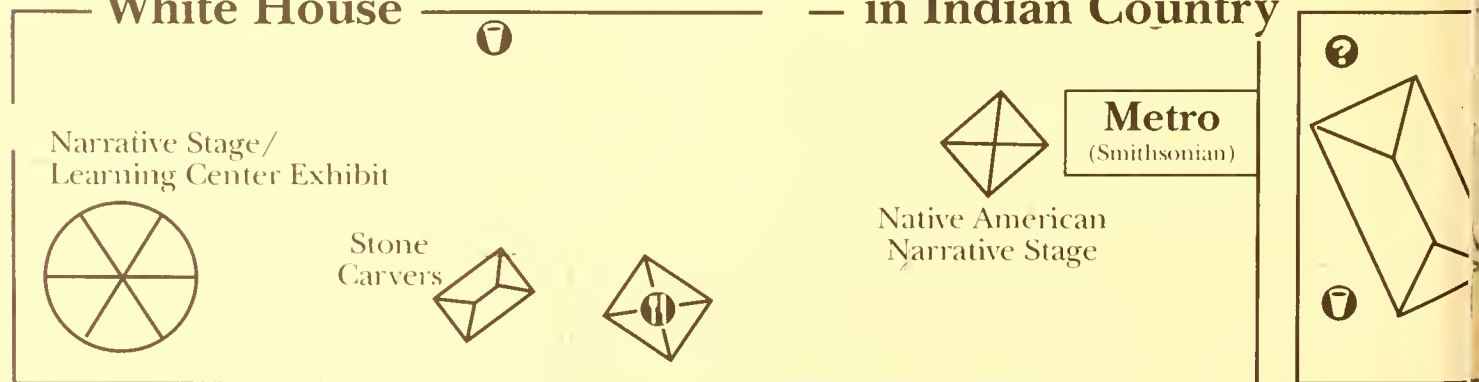
Accessible to
Mobility Impaired

MADISON DRIVE



Workers at the White House

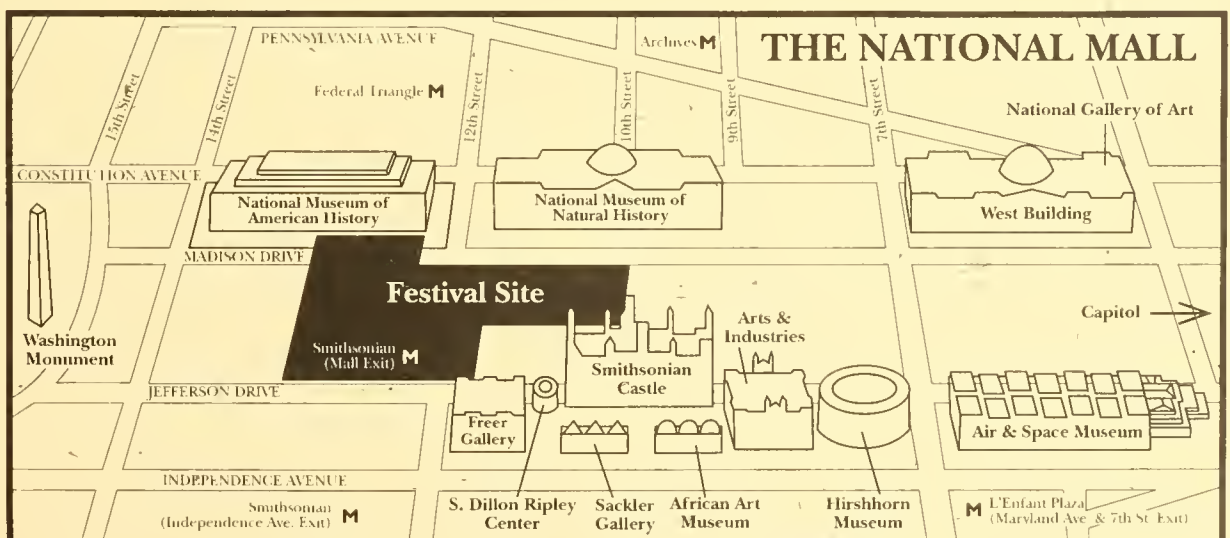
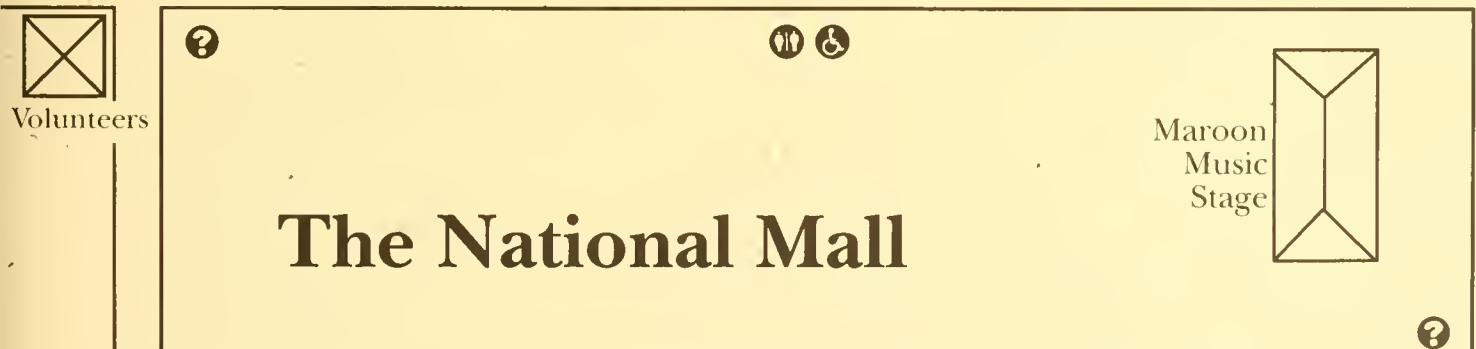
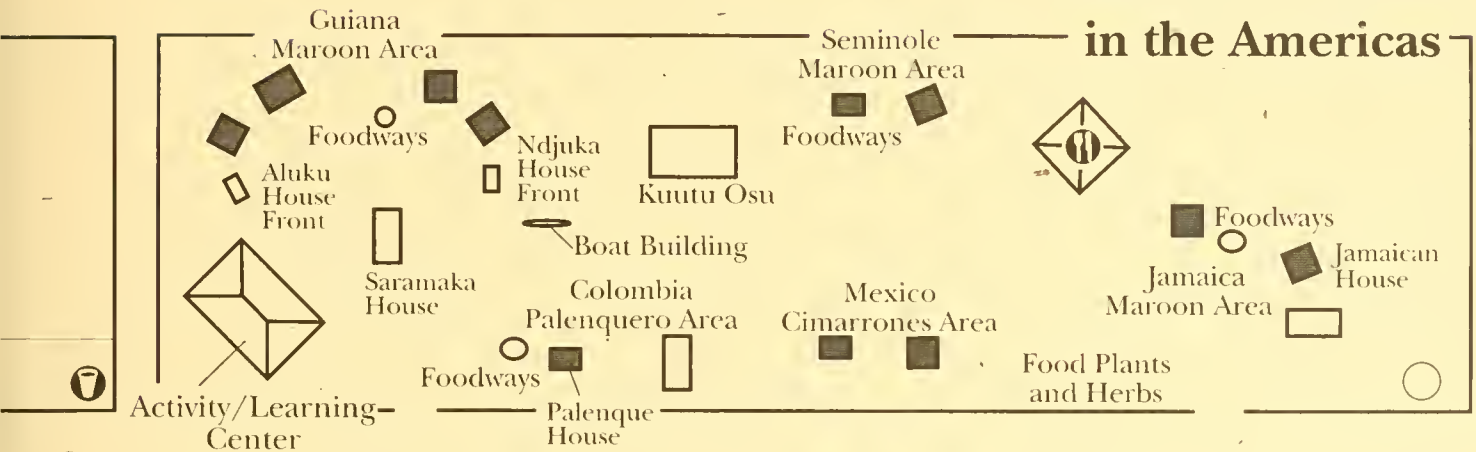
The Changing Soundscape — in Indian Country



JEFFERSON DRIVE

Festival Site Map

Maroon Culture in the Americas



Native American Music Stage

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY

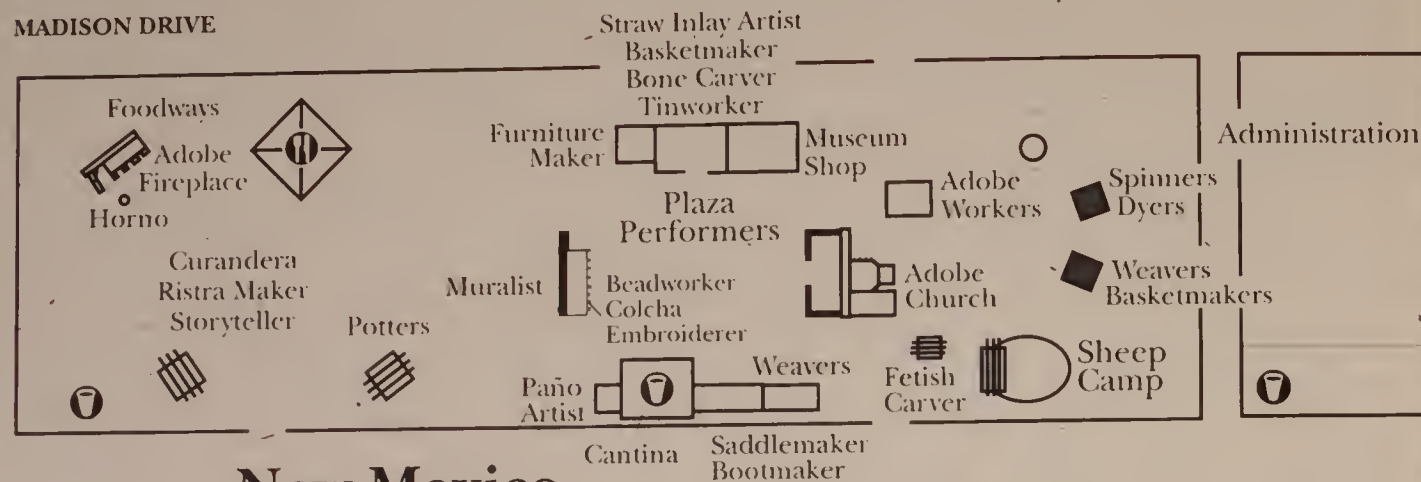


New Mexico
Main Music Stage

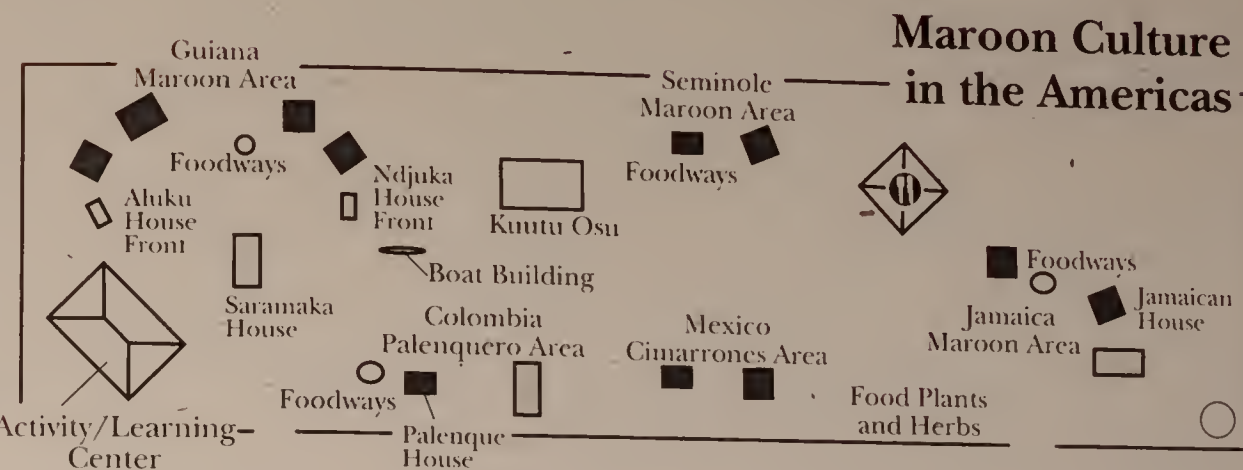
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|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| Information | First Aid |
| Beverage Concession | Restrooms |
| Food Concession | Accessible to Mobility Impaired |

Festival Site Map

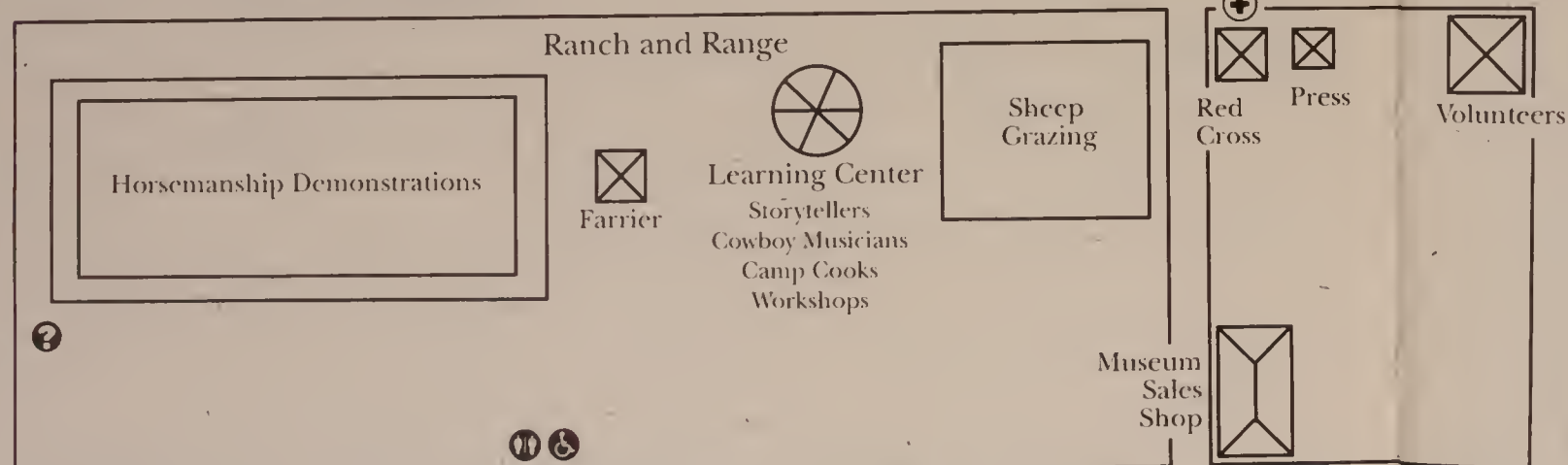
MADISON DRIVE



New Mexico



Maroon Culture
in the Americas



Ranch and Range

Learning Center
Storytellers
Cowboy Musicians
Camp Cooks
Workshops

Sheep
Grazing

Farrier

Red Cross

Press

Volunteers

Museum
Sales
Shop

The National Mall

Maroon
Music
Stage

Workers at the
White House

The Changing Soundscape
in Indian Country



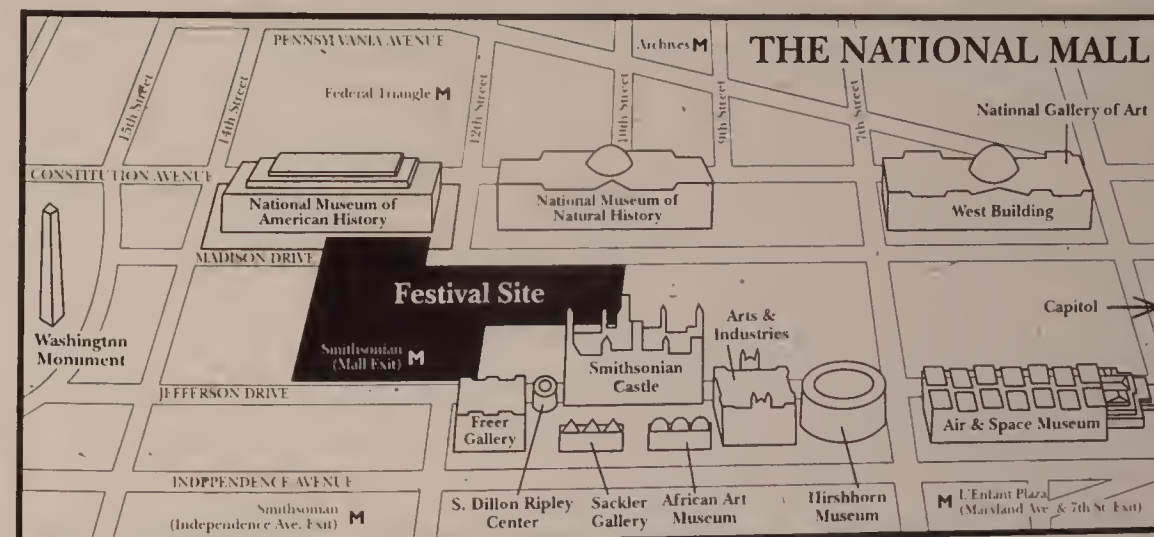
Narrative Stage/
Learning Center Exhibit

Stone
Carvers

Native American
Narrative Stage

Metro
(Smithsonian)






Native
American
Music Stage



JEFFERSON DRIVE




Thursday, July 2

NEW MEXICO

	Plaza	Kitchen	Music Stage	Range	Learning Center/ Camp Fire
11:00					
12:00	Blessing of the Church Procession 		Los Alegres Música de los Viejos		Camp Fire
		African-American Cooking	Johnny & Luther Whelan: Música de los Vaqueros		Preserving Traditions: Economic Strategies
1:00	Cuentos: Stories from the Rio Grande Valley			Horsemanship	
		Cochiti Pueblo Cooking	Antonia Apodaca, Gleotus Ortiz, Cipriano Vigil: Spanish Colonial Music		Santeros: Carving for Faith 
2:00	Los Comanches				
		Czech-American Cooking	Juan Flores & Charla Nettleton: Música de la Frontera	Charreada Traditions	Fernando Celician: Flute Zuni Pueblo
3:00	Los Matachines				
		Indo-Hispanic Cooking		Ranch Traditions	Building with Adobe 
4:00			Los Reyes de Albuquerque		Preparing to Dance
	Cowboy Music	Tesuque Pueblo Cooking			
5:00	Cuentos: Stories from the Rio Grande Valley 		Johnny & Luther Whelan: Música de los Vaqueros	Ranch Traditions	Pastures: Sheepherding Traditions
	Taos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers	Klobase			
6:00			Fiddle Styles		
		Breads from Corn	Fernando Celician: Flute Zuni Pueblo	Charreada Traditions	Indo-Hispanic Communities
7:00	Los Comanches				William & Vonda Dorn: Gospel 

"American Encounters," a permanent exhibition that examines the historical relationships of New Mexico's cultures, is open to the public in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

NATIVE AMERICAN MUSIC


	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00		
12:00	Cherokee Indian Baptist Choir	Promotion & Marketing 
	Sharon Burch: Navajo Guitarist-Singer	Instrument Construction 
1:00	Murray Porter: Oneida Keyboardist-Singer	
		Classical Music
2:00	Nicaragua Marimba Trio	
	Fiddle Styles: Mitchil Turtle Mountain Athabaskan Yukon	Protest Songs
3:00	Akwesasne Singers: Mohawk Musical Traditions	Nicaraguan Music
	Vincent Craig: Navajo Guitarist-Singer	
4:00	Brent Michael Davids: Mohican Flautist-Composer	Cherokee Hymn Singing
	Jake Com: Hopi Guitarist-Singer	Fiddle Workshop
5:00	Alex Gomez Band: O'odham Waila Music ("Chicken Scratch")	Navajo Music
	White Boy & the Wagon Burners: Onondaga Blues-Rock	Sacred Secular Music 

Dance Party





Sexteto Son Palenque:
Colombian Maroon Music & Dance

7:00

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.


Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

MAROON PROGRAM

	Music and Dance Area	Narrative Area: Kuutu Osu	Activity Center Workshops	On-going Demonstrations	Foodways
11:00					
12:00	 Aluku Music & Dance	Palenque de San Basilio: Oral Traditions	Patchwork from the Guianas	Colombia Area: Drum Repair, Plaited & Woven Work, "Trampas" & "Jaulas," Rice Processing, Trapmaking	Seminole Maroon Cooking Traditions: Fry Bread
1:00	Mexican Cimarrones: Corrido	Seminole Maroons: The Seminole Scouts		Guianas Area: Architecture, Stitchery, Wood Carving, House Dressing, Painted House Decoration, Plaited Hair Designs, Calabash Carving, Boatbuilding, Basketry, Netmaking, Trap Making, Crocheted Calfband Making, Processing & Preparing Cassava, Plaiting, Rice Processing	 Ndjuka & Aluku Food Preparation & Presentation for Booko Dei — Community Celebration
2:00	Jamaican Maroon Processional Music: Accompong	Pan-Festival Workshop: Facades & House Dressing	Learn to Make Colombian Palenquero Plaited Fans		
3:00	Colombia Palenquero Music & Dance	Traditions of Self Government: Guiana Maroon Kuutu			Jamaican Maroon Survival Foods: Jerk Pork
3:00	Saramaka Music & Dance		Play Jamaican Maroon Games		
4:00	Jamaican Maroon Music	 New Languages Created from Old		Seminole Area: Documenting Family History, Cowboy Skills, Cavalry Skills, Foodways	Palenquero Cooking with Sugarcane: Mani Plateado
4:00		Women in Maroon Cultures	Try Guianese Maroon Dance	Jamaica Area: Thatching, Drummaking & Repair, Making Bird & Fish	
5:00	Maroon Story Songs	 Military Strategies & Martial Arts		Traps, Working with Fiber, Hammock Making, Basketry	Guianas: Sugarcane Beverages
	Ndjuka Music & Dance	Innovation & Continuities: Personal Style in Dress & Ornament		Mexico: Herbal Medicine	

Special Event:
7:00 pm - 1:00 am
— Guiana Maroon Booko Dei Ceremony in commemoration of the ancestors: An evening of storytelling, dance and community celebration.

WHITE HOUSE

	Stone Carving Tent	Narrative Stage
11:00		
12:00	Ongoing demonstrations by stone cutters and carvers currently working to restore the White House	Narrative sessions with White House workers on: traditions of teaching and learning, skills and working knowledge, daily tasks and special events, teamwork, stories and customs, relationships with first families, fellow workers and guests, transitions, and social changes affecting work-culture
1:00		
2:00		
3:00		 Narrative sessions at the following times will be sign-interpreted: 1:45 - 2:30 3:15 - 4:00
4:00		
5:00		

Friday, July 3

NEW MEXICO

	Plaza	Kitchen	Music Stage	Range	Learning Center/ Camp Fire
11:00					
12:00		Indo-Hispanic Cooking	Los Reyes de Albuquerque		Saddles
	Los Matachines				
1:00		African-American Cooking	Fiddle Styles	Charreada Traditions	Marketing Tradition
	Los Comanches				
2:00		Indo-Hispanic Cooking	Los Alegres: Música de los Viejos	Ranch Traditions	Gonzalo Tradition
	Cuentos: Stories from the Rio Grande Valley				
		Czech-American Cooking	Antonia Apodaca, Cleofes Ortiz, Cipriano Vigil: Spanish Colonial Music		William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions
3:00	Taos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers				
		Cochiti Pueblo Cooking	Johnny & Luther Whelan: Música de los Vaqueros	Ranch Traditions	Cuentos: Stories from the Rio Grande Valley
4:00	Storytelling				
		Indo-Hispanic Cooking	Los Reyes de Albuquerque	Charreada Traditions	Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zuni Pueblo
5:00	William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions				
		Cooking in the Horno	Juan Flores & Charla Nettleton: Música de la Frontera	Horsemanship	Funding Materials for Traditions
	Los Matachines				

"American Encounters," a permanent exhibition that examines the historical relationships of New Mexico's cultures, is open to the public in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

NATIVE AMERICAN MUSIC


	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00	Sharon Burch: Navajo Guitarist-Singer	Nicaraguan Music
12:00	Jake Coin: Hopi Guitarist-Singer	Iroquoian Traditions
	Vincent Craig: Navajo Guitarist-Singer	
1:00	Fiddle Styles: Mutchif Turtle Mountain Athabaskan Yukon	Cherokee Hymn Singing
	Brent Michael Davids: Mohican Flautist-Composer	Navajo Music
2:00	Nicaragua Marimba Trio	Instrument Construction
	Murray Porter: Oneida Keyboardist-Singer	Sacred, Secular Music
4:00	Cherokee Indian Baptist Choir	Marketing: The Recording Industry
	Akwesasne Singers: Mohawk Musical Traditions	Protest Songs
5:00	Alex Gomez Band: O'odham Warla Music ("Chicken Scratch")	Fiddle Workshop

Dance Party





White Boy & the Wagon Burners

7:00


Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

MAROON PROGRAM




	Music and Dance Area	Narrative Area: Kuutu Osu	Activity Center Workshops	On-going Demonstrations	Foodways
11:00					
12:00	Aluku Music & Dance from French Guiana	Palenque de San Basilio: Oral Traditions	Patchwork from the Guianas	Colombia Area: Drum Repair, Plaited & Woven Work, "Trampas" & "Jaulas," Rice Processing, Trapmaking	Seminole Maroon Food Preparation
1:00	Mexican Cimarrones: Corridos	Innovation & Continuities: Personal Style in Dress & Ornament 	Learn to Make Colombian Palenquero Plaited Fans	Guianas Area: Architecture, Stitchery, Wood Carving, House Dressing, Painted House Decoration, Plaited Hair Designs, Calabash Carving, Boatbuilding, Basketry, Netmaking, Trap Making, Crocheted Calband Making, Processing & Preparing Cassava, Plaiting, Rice Processing	Guiana Maroon Cooking with Peanuts
2:00	Colombia Palenquero Music & Dance 	Traditions of Self Government	Play Jamaican Maroon Games		Jamaican Maroon Survival Foods: Jerk Pork
3:00	Saramaka Music & Dance from Suriname				
4:00	Jamaican Maroon Music	Maroon Games		Seminole Area: Documenting Family History, Cowboy Skills, Cavalry Skills, Foodways	Palenquero Cooking with Cornmeal: Arepa de Huevo
	Maroon Story Songs	Women in Maroon Cultures	Try Guianese Maroon Dance	Jamaica Area: Thatching, Drummaking & Repair, Making Bird & Fish Traps, Working with Fiber, Hammock Making, Basketry	
5:00	Ndjuka Music & Dance from Suriname	Maroon Identity in the 1990s 			Seminole Maroon Cooking with Cornmeal
		Aesthetics of Dress		Mexico: Musical Instrument Making	

WHITE HOUSE



	Stone Cutting Tent	Narrative Stage
11:00		
12:00	Ongoing demonstrations by stone cutters and carvers currently working to restore the White House	Narrative sessions with White House workers on: traditions of teaching and learning, skills and working knowledge, daily tasks and special events, teamwork, stories and customs, relationships with first families, fellow workers and guests, transitions, and social changes affecting worker culture
1:00		
2:00		
3:00		12:30 - 1:15 Pan-Festival Workshop: Guarding Traditions, Codes of Loyalty
4:00		 Narrative sessions at the following times will be sign-interpreted: 11:00 - 11:45 11:45 - 12:30 1:15 - 2:00
5:00		

Saturday, July 4

NEW MEXICO


	Plaza	Kitchen	Music Stage	Range	Learning Center/ Camp Fire
11:00					
12:00	Taos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers	Czech-American Cooking	Johnny & Luther Whelan: Música de los Vaqueros		 Women in Music
			Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zuni Pueblo	Charreada Traditions	
1:00	Storytelling	Indo-Hispanic Cooking	Los Reyes de Albuquerque		Camp Fire
	Los Matachines				Images of New Mexico
2:00		Cooking in the Horno	Antonia Apodaca, Cleofus Ortiz, Cipriano Vigil: Spanish Colonial Music	Horsemanship	Taos Pueblo Traditions
3:00	William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions	Cochiti Pueblo Cooking	Fiddle Styles		 Pan-Festival Workshop: Rural Life & Environment
			Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zuni Pueblo	Charreada Traditions	Songs of Faith
4:00	Los Comanches	Fesque Pueblo Cooking	Juan Flores & Charla Nettleton: Música de la Frontera		
	Cuentos: Stories from the Rio Grande Valley			Ranch Traditions	Los Comanches
5:00	Taos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers	African-American Cooking	Los Reyes de Albuquerque		
					Camp Fire
	Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zuni Pueblo	Making Ristras	Los Alegres: Música de los Viejos		

NATIVE AMERICAN MUSIC




	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00	Murray Porter: Oneida Keyboardist Singer	Navajo Music
12:00	Nicaragua Marimba Trio	 Marketing
1:00	Cherokee Indian Baptist Choir	Nicaraguan Music
2:00	Vincent Craig: Navajo Guitarist/Singer	Fiddle Workshop
	Sharon Burch: Navajo Guitarist/Singer	Classical Music
3:00	Jake Com: Hopi Guitarist/Singer	Cherokee Hymn Singing
	Brent Michael Davids: Mohican Flautist/Composer	
4:00	Fiddle Styles: Mitchil Turtle Mountain Athabaskan Yukon	 Iroquoian Traditions
5:00	White Boy & the Wagon Burners: Onondaga Blues/Rock	 Sacred/Secular Music
	Alex Gomez Band: O'odham Waila Music ("Chicken Scratch")	Protest Songs

"American Encounters," a permanent exhibition that examines the historical relationships of New Mexico's cultures, is open to the public in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.


Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

MAROON PROGRAM




	Music and Dance Area	Narrative Area: Kuntu Osu	Activity Center Workshops	On-going Demonstrations	Foodways
11:00					
12:00	Saramaka Music & Dance	Talking About Treaties	Patchwork from the Guianas	Colombia Area: Drum Repair, Plaited & Woven Work, "Trampas" & "Jaulas," Rice Processing, Trapmaking	Seminole Maroons: Wrapped Food — Tamales
1:00	Music & Dance of Moore Town Maroons	 African Continuities: Musical Instruments from African Sources		Guianas Area: Architecture, Stitchery, Wood Carving, House Dressing, Painted House Decoration, Plaited Hair Designs, Calabash Carving, Boatbuilding, Basketry, Netmaking, Trap Making, Crocheted Calband Making, Processing & Preparing Cassava, Plaiting, Rice Processing	Guianese Maroons: Wrapped Food — Doku
2:00	Aluku Music & Dance	Seminole Maroons: From Florida to Brackettville	Learn to Make Colombian Palenquero Plaited Fans		
3:00	Music of the Costa Chica Maroons & Colombian Palenqueros	 Traditions of Self Government: Guiana Maroon Kuntu	Try Guianese Maroon Music & Dance		Jamaican Maroons: Wrapped Food — Dokunu
4:00	Accompanying Maroons of Jamaica: Music & Dance			Seminole Area: Documenting Family History, Cowboy Skills, Cavalry Skills, Foodways	 Palenquero Cooking: Wrapped Food — Bollo
5:00	Ndjuka Music & Dance	New Languages Created from Old		Jamaica Area: Thatching, Drummaking & Repair, Making Bird & Fish Traps, Working with Fiber, Hammock Making, Basketry	
	Maroon Story Songs	Stories from Ecuador	Play Jamaican Maroon Games		Seminole Maroon Foodways
	New Music in a New Land: Aleke Music from French Guiana & Suriname	Maroon Identity in the 1990s		Mexico: Herbal Medicine	
		Military Strategies & Martial Arts			

WHITE HOUSE

	Stone Carving Tent	Narrative Stage
11:00		
12:00	Ongoing demonstrations by stone cutters and carvers currently working to restore the White House	Narrative sessions with White House workers on traditions of teaching and learning, skills and working knowledge, daily tasks and special events, teamwork, stories and customs, relationships with first families, fellow workers and guests, transitions, and social changes affecting worker culture
1:00		
2:00		
3:00		 Narrative sessions at the following times will be sign-interpreted: 1:15 - 2:00 2:00 - 2:45
4:00		
5:00		

Sunday, July 5

NEW MEXICO

	Plaza	Kitchen	Music Stage	Range	Learning Center/ Camp Fire
11:00					
12:00		African-American Cooking	Juan Flores & Charla Nettleton: Música de la Frontera	Charreada Traditions	 Range, Land, & Tradition
	Los Matachines	Cochiti Pueblo Cooking	Fiddle Styles		William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions
1:00					Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zuni Pueblo
	Los Comanches	Indo-Hispanic Cooking	Los Reyes de Albuquerque	Horsemanship	 Los Matachines
2:00					
	Cuentos: Stories from the Rio Grande Valley	Czech-American Cooking	Los Alegres: Música de los Viejos		
3:00	William & Vondra Dorn: Gospel Traditions				Crafts
	Taos Pueblo Concha Family Dancers	Cooking in the Horn	Johnny & Luther Whelan: Música de los Vaqueros	Ranch Traditions	Inditas
4:00			Antonia Apodaca, Cleofus Ortiz, Cipriano Vigil: Spanish Colonial Music		Camp Fire
	Fernando Cellicion: Flute Zuni Pueblo	Indo-Hispanic Cooking			
5:00	Los Reyes de Albuquerque		Fiddle Styles	Charreada Traditions	 Cuentos: Stories from the Rio Grande Valley
	Los Comanches	African-American Cooking	Juan Flores & Charla Nettleton: Música de la Frontera		

"American Encounters," a permanent exhibition that examines the historical relationships of New Mexico's cultures, is open to the public in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

NATIVE AMERICAN MUSIC


	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00		
	Cherokee Indian Baptist Chon	Fiddle Workshop
12:00		
	Sharon Burch: Navajo Guitarist/Singer	Nicaraguan Music
1:00	Fiddle Styles: Mitchell Turtle Mountain Athabaskan Yinkon	Navajo Music
	Murray Porter: Oneida Keyboardist/Singer	
2:00	Jake Goin: Hopi Guitarist/Singer	Classical Music
	Brent Michael Davids: Mohican Flautist/Composer	Pan-Festival Workshop: Crossover Music
3:00		
	Vincent Craig: Navajo Guitarist/Singer	Iroquoian Traditions
4:00		
	Nicaragua Marimba Trio	Protest Songs
5:00	Alex Gomez Band: O'odham Waila Music ("Chicken Scratch")	Cherokee Hymn Singing
	White Boy & the Wagon Burners: Onondaga Blues/Rock	 Sacred/Secular Music

Dance Party





Los Alegres & Antonia Apodaca, Cleofus Ortiz, Cipriano Vigil, Música de los Viejos

7:00


Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

MAROON PROGRAM

	Music and Dance Area	Narrative Area: Kuutu Osu	Activity Center Workshops	On-going Demonstrations	Foodways
11:00					
12:00	Aliku Music & Dance from French Guiana	Palenque de San Basilio: Oral Traditions	Patchwork from the Guianas	Colombia Area: Drum Repair, Plaited & Woven Work, "Trampas" & "Janlas," Rice Processing, Trappmaking	Seminole Maroon Staples: Cooking with Cornmeal
	Mexican Cimarrones: Corridos	Journey to Accompong Revisited 		Guianas Area: Architecture, Stitchery, Wood Carving, House Dressing, Painted House Decoration, Plaited Hair Designs, Calabash Carving, Boatbuilding, Basketry, Netmaking, Trap Making, Crocheted Callband Making, Processing & Preparing Cassava, Plaiting, Rice Processing	Guianese Maroon Staples: Growing, Processing & Cooking Rice
1:00	Jamaican Maroon Music	Seminole Maroons: From Florida to Bracketville	Learn to Make Colombian Palenquero Plaited Fans		
2:00	Colombia Palenquero Music & Dance: Bullerengue	Traditions of Self Government: Resolving Conflicts			Jamaican Maroon Survival Foods: Jerk Pork
	Saramaka Music & Dance from Suriname		Play Jamaican Maroon Games		
3:00				Seminole Area: Documenting Family History, Cowboy Skills, Cavalry Skills, Foodways	Palenquero Cooking with Rice
	Jamaican Maroon Music	Maroon Games			
4:00		Stories from Ecuador	Try Guianese Maroon Dance	Jamaica Area: Thatching, Drummaking & Repair, Making Bird & Fish Traps, Working with Fiber, Hammock Making, Basketry	
	Journey to Accompong Revisited	Maroon Identity in the 1990s			Maroon Tonics & Healing Preparations
5:00	Ndjuka Music & Dance from Suriname	 The Spirit of Marronage		Mexico: Herbal Medicine	

WHITE HOUSE

	Stone Carving Tent	Narrative Stage
11:00		
12:00	Ongoing demonstrations by stone cutters and carvers currently working to restore the White House	Narrative sessions with White House workers on: traditions of teaching and learning, skills and working knowledge, daily tasks and special events, teamwork, stories and customs, relationships with first families, fellow workers and guests, transitions, and social changes affecting worker culture
1:00		
2:00		
3:00		 Narrative sessions at the following times will be sign-interpreted: 11:00 - 11:45 12:30 - 1:15 2:00 - 2:15
4:00		
5:00		

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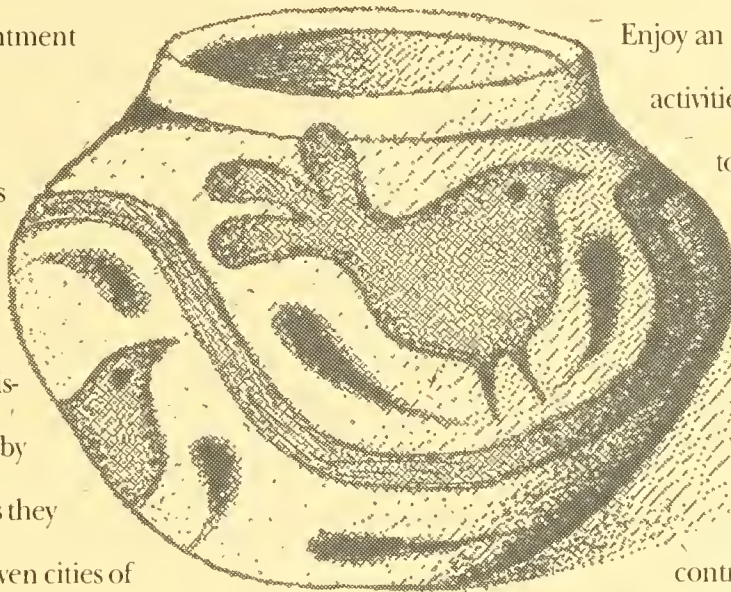
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New Mexico

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Gov. Bent Home & Museum
Herzstein Memorial Museum
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International Space Hall of Fame
Kit Carson Home and Museum
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Lincoln County Heritage Trust
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McKee, Carson Museum
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Million Dollar Museum
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Museum
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